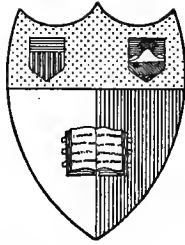


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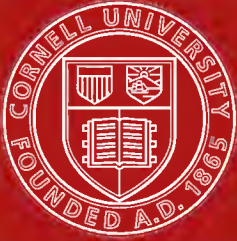
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ADVERSARIA SINICA

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ADVERSARIA SINICA

BY

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With Illustrations

SHANGHAI

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PREFACE

There is hardly any need for a preface to this collection of miscellaneous papers, except to acknowledge my obligation to my son, Mr. Bertram Giles, H. B. M. Consul at Ch'ang-sha, for the very full Index he has found time to contribute.

I should like to add, in view of a widespread misunderstanding, that the word *Adversaria* has nothing whatever to do with "hostility." It simply means a "note-book," and was so used by Cicero.

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HERBERT A. GILES

Cambridge: 12 May, 1914.

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1905

WHO WAS SI WANG MU?

Across the pages of Chinese tradition—it is scarcely possible to say history—there moves a strange figure, known as 西王母 *Si Wang Mu* (sometimes as 王母 only), which words, if to be translated, must mean “West Queen Mother,” yielding the sense of “Queen-Mother of the West.”

Si is usually written *Hsi* in Pekingese, a comparatively modern dialect.

The term was rendered by Mayers (*Manual*, No. 572) as “the Western Royal Mother,” with the extraordinary alternative of “King Mu (Mother) of the West,” and was explained as “a fabulous being of the female sex.” Mayers went on to say that “the more sober research of modern writers leads to a suggestion that Wang Mu was the name either of a region or of a sovereign in the ancient West.”

This last paragraph brought Mayers into line with Dr. Legge, who in his translation of those very doubtful documents, *The Bamboo Books*, had already said, “In his seventeenth year (B.C. 944), 穆王 King Mu went on a punitive expedition to mount Keun-lun, and saw the western Wang-moo. That year the chief of Wang-moo came to court.”

Faber, in his translation of Lieh Tzū (p. 61) calls *Si Wang Mu* “die Mutter des Westköniges.”

Professor Hirth, in his *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 43, gives “mother of the western king,” and on pp. 51, 82, 86, 87, and 95 “western king’s mother;” but on pp. 77, 292, he gives “the Hsi-wang-mu,” as though it were the name of a place, one of the “imaginary abodes,” as he says, “of a fairy queen.”

The Rev. E. J. Eitel, in the *China Review*, XVII, p. 233, says "These three characters (*Si-wang-mu*) probably are merely a transliteration of a name belonging to a polysyllabic non-Chinese language —also called *Si-wang-mu*." The above is from a note to Eitel's translation of the 穆天子傳 *Mu T'ien Tzŭ Chuan*, an account of the famous journey of King Mu to the west, undertaken early in the tenth century B.C. This work was "found in a tomb," and edited by a well-known scholar, named 荀勗 *Hsün Hsü*, who died A.D. 289; and Eitel is "convinced that the main portion of it is of a very ancient date (10th century, B.C.)." Not to mention that *Hsün Hsü* took a leading part in editing *The Bamboo Books*, which were also "found" in the same tomb, it may be stated that in the *Mu T'ien Tzŭ Chuan*, as pointed out by a keen native critic, "the sovereign is, while living, referred to under his posthumous name (Mu)." This only proves that the work in question is not a contemporary document, though, as the same critic goes on to say, well worth reading for its style. Professor Chavannes, however, considers its "authenticité" to be "bien établie" (*Journal Asiatique*, Janvier—Février, 1905).

Whatever may be the date of the work, we have in it a passage which says that on such and such a day King Mu 至于西王母之邦 "arrived at the country of Si Wang Mu," rendered by Eitel, "reached the people (called?) Si-wang-mu." But in the subsequent interview between King Mu and Si Wang Mu, the latter name is always rendered by Eitel as "(the chief) of Si-wang-mu."

Terrien de la Couperie, in his *Western Origin of the Early Civilisation of the Chinese*, p. 264, echoes the contention of Eitel that "there is nothing in any of the ancient texts on the subject to indicate that Si Wang-mu was a woman;" but on p. 273 he appears to urge that "the Si Wang-mus (whom he regards as a line of sovereigns) were queens." He further states (p. 278) that Wang-mu

is a corruption of Kam-mu (= Kuu-mo), the title of the sovereigns of the Wu-sun nations. He laughs (p. 264) at those "good Jesuits of the eighteenth century who have seriously suggested that the Royal Mother of the West was no other than the Queen of Sheba," spoken of by Christ as the "Queen of the South." This view however has been recently championed by Professor A. Forke of Berlin in a carefully-written and exhaustive pamphlet, entitled *Mu Wang und die Königin von Saba*, which appeared in 1904 but only came to my knowledge some two months ago, when this note had been already completed.

Professor E. Chavannes, of the Collège de France, in his translation of the 史記 *Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (vol. II, pp. 7, 8), points out that "Se-ma Ts'ien passe complètement sous silence le nom de Si-wang-mou," and "ne mentionne pas ce voyage lorsqu'il raconte le règne du roi Mou il en parle au contraire dans les Annales principales des Ts'in."

The following passage occurs in the monograph on 大宛 Ferghana in ch. 123 of the *Mémoires*:—"Old people in Parthia state that they have heard that in T'iao-chih (Chaldaeae) there are the Weak Water and Si Wang Mu, but they have never seen them." Speaking of the *Mu T'ien Tzu Chuan* and of *Lieh Tzu*, Professor Chavannes says (p. 7), "Dans ces textes, le nom de Si-wang-mou est mentionné; mais il est le nom d'une tribu barbare de l'ouest et n'a plus d'importance que les autres noms géographiques cités dans la relation du voyage; le roi Mou visite le chef Si-wang-mou, de même que plusieurs autres princes de l'ouest."

In Professor De Groot's *Religious System of China*, ch. IV, p. 304, the author says, "the best of all sien-trees grew in the parks of Si Wang-mu, a mystic Queen of the Sien (= Immortals) living in a Paradise in the mysterious West Of traditional fame are certain peaches, which that fairy Queen deemed worth bringing, etc."

In the 爾雅註疏 *Erh Ya Chu Su*, ch. IX, we have 觚竹北戶西王母日下謂之四荒 "Hu-chu, Pei-hu, Si-wang-mu, and Jih-hsia, are called the Four Wilds." The commentator, 郭璞 Kuo P'o (d. A.D. 324), accepts this as authoritative in favour of a place-name; and 邢昺 Hsing Ping (d. A.D. 1010), who wrote the 疏 *Su*, adds 皆四方昏荒之國 "all these were wild countries in the N., S., W., and E., respectively." The date of the *Erh Ya* is not known. It has been ascribed to a disciple of Confucius, Pu Shang (5th cent. B.C.); but the great 朱熹 Chu Hsi (d. A.D. 1200) disposed of this ascription by a stroke of his pen: 不足据以爲古 "There is not sufficient ground for regarding it as an ancient work."

Chuang Tzū, who died some time in the 3rd cent. B.C., mentions Si Wang Mu. The passage occurs in the chapter entitled 大宗師 "The Great Supreme," and appears in my translation of Chuang Tzū's writings (1889), as follows:—"Hsi Wang Mu obtained Tao, and settled at Shao Kuang; since when, no one knows; until when, no one knows either.

Note. A lady,—or a place, for accounts vary,—around whose name innumerable legends have gathered."

It is obvious, however, that the writer here meant a personage and not a place, and it is also significant, in regard to what is to follow, that the great Japanese commentator, Lin Ko-chai, says, 少廣神仙之居也 "Shao Kuang is the abode of the gods."

In the 後漢書 *Hou Han Shu*, "History of the Later Han Dynasty," A.D. 25—220, we have the following passage: 或云其國西有弱水流沙近西王母所居處幾於日所入也 "Some say that to the west of this country (Syria) there are the Weak Water and the Quicksands, near to the abode of Si Wang Mu, almost where the sun sets."

Si Wang Mu is also mentioned in the poems of 司馬相如 Ssü-ma Hsiang-ju (*d. B. C. 117*), 張衡 Chang Hêng (*d. A.D. 139*), 馬融 Ma Jung (*d. A.D. 166*), 嵇康 Hsi K'ang (*d. A.D. 262*), 李白 Li Po (*d. A.D. 762*), and 杜甫 Tu Fu (*d. A.D. 771*).

But it is now proposed to discard the theory that Si Wang Mu is either an historical personage, or a place-name, or the name of a tribe, and to consider solely the various traditions connected with these three mysterious words, assumed to be the designation of a woman.

The words "Si Wang Mu" occur in the 山海經 *Shan Hai Ching* "Hill and Water Classic," a work of doubtful age. There we read, "The Jade Mountain (K'un-lun) is the abode of the Queen-Mother of the West. Her appearance is that of a human being. She has a panther's tail and a dog's teeth, and can howl loudly. Her hair hangs loose, and she wears a coronet. She presides over the calamities and punishments sent by God."

This however is said to be merely a form she can assume; 非王母之真形也 it is not Wang Mu's real shape.

A eulogy on Si Wang Mu, by Kuo P'ò (*d. A.D. 324*), is quoted in the *P'ei Wên Yün Fu*, and the writer there speaks of her as 天地之女 "daughter of Heaven and Earth."

The 僊傳拾遺 *Hsien Chuan Shih I* "Omissions from Accounts of the Immortals," tells us that King Mu crossed the 弱水 *Jo Shui* "Weak Water" on a bridge made by turtles and so 登於春山 reached the Ch'ung mountain where he pledged Si Wang Mu on the 瑤池 Jasper Lake. It is also stated that a certain valuable glue, with which broken bowstrings might be mended, and which was one of the rarities belonging to Si Wang Mu, came from a place which 四面皆弱水遶也 "was surrounded on all sides by the Weak Water."

The "Weak Water," mentioned in the 書經 *Shu Ching* "Book of History," 史記 *Shih Chi* "Historical Record," and elsewhere, has always been quite as much a puzzle as the personality of Si Wang Mu herself.

King Mu was also said, when entertained by Si Wang Mu, to have eaten various fruits, among the rest 橘 *chū* oranges, all of which were 神仙之物 "supernatural things," so that 得不延期長生乎 "how could he fail to secure immortality?"—after which he and Si Wang Mu went up to heaven together on a cloud.

According to the 漢武帝內傳 *Han Wu Ti Nei Chuan* "Private Record of the Emperor Wu (B.C. 140—86) of the Han Dynasty," attributed to 班固 *Pan Ku* (d. A.D. 92), Si Wang Mu is made to reappear on a visit to this monarch. In the fourth moon, we are told, of the first year of 元封 *Yüan Fêng* = B.C. 110, the Emperor was amusing himself in the Flowery Pavilion, in company with Tung-fang So and Tung Chung-shu, when suddenly there appeared a damsel dressed in blue-green clothes and of striking beauty. The Emperor was astonished, and asked her who she was, to which she replied, "I am a lady of the Palace, sent by Si Wang Mu to inform your Majesty that she has heard how little store you set by the things of this world, being anxious rather to accomplish your salvation and obtain eternal life, and how you are always praying to the great Mountains, and that she hopes to be able to impart to you some instructions. Wherefore purify yourself by fasting, and abstain from worldly affairs, and on the seventh day of the seventh moon Si Wang Mu will pay you a short visit." Then the Emperor knelt down and promised obedience, whereupon the damsel disappeared.

This young lady seems to have attracted particular attention, for in the 太平廣記 *T'ai Ping Kuang Chi* she has an article all to herself, among "spiritual beings," headed 王母使者 *Messenger of the Queen-Mother*.

Accordingly, on the appointed day the Emperor made grand preparations with lamps and draperies and incense and grape-wine,

Introduced from Bactria about this date.

and at midnight a small white cloud was discerned, approaching from the south-west, with sounds of flutes and drums, and the noise of men and horses. Si Wang Mu had arrived, descending with her suite like a flight of rooks, some on dragons, some on tigers, some on storks, some in chariots, and others on winged horses.

Pegasus was first heard of, *viâ* Bactria, about this date.

On arrival, the attendants all vanished, leaving only Si Wang Mu seated in a chariot of purple clouds drawn by many-coloured dragons, and surrounded by fifty immortals from heaven, all over ten feet in height.

The foot of ancient China was much shorter than the modern measure. Two beautiful girls of sixteen or seventeen assisted Si Wang Mu into the pavilion. She wore a magnificent coronet and carried a sword, and appeared to be about thirty years of age, of medium height, and of dazzling beauty,—truly, as the writer says, a 靈人 divine being. Si Wang Mu provided the meal from 天廚 the kitchens of heaven, and among other dainties were 芝 the plant of immortality and an exquisite wine such as 非地上所有 is not to be obtained on earth. There was also a dish of seven peaches, the size of duck's eggs, four of which she gave to the Emperor, eating three herself. The Emperor, finding the fruit much to his taste, kept his stones, with a view, as he explained, to planting them. Si Wang Mu, however, said that her peach-trees only bore fruit once in three thousand years, and that the soil of China was too poor. These peaches came from a garden belonging to Si Wang Mu, which was kept carefully guarded, inasmuch as the fruit was not only rare, but conferred immortality on those who ate of it.

In the accompanying picture of Si Wang Mu, taken from the 圖書集成 *T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng* (where it is wrongly said to be

西王母圖

此圖據三才圖會



copied from the 三才圖會 *San Ts'ai T'u Hui*, the picture in the latter being somewhat different), she is represented with a certain bird, two of which are also seen over her head in the famous sculptures of the second century,

See *La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine*, by Professor Chavannes.

where Si Wang Mu is depicted in the act of receiving King Mu in audience. These birds have been called by the Chinese by the two names of two distinct birds, both fabulous, namely 鳳 *fêng* and 鸞 *luan*. Thus, the poet T'ao Yüan-ming (A.D. 365—427) says,

The divine *fêng* dances among the clouds,
The spiritual *luan* trills its pure notes;
Although these rarities are not of this world,
Yet they were beloved by [Si] Wang Mu.

In the 拾遺記 *Shih I Chi*, of the fourth century A.D., both names are used in connection with Si Wang Mu; in the 洞冥記 *Tung Ming Chi* and in the *Han Wu Nei Chuan* above quoted, only the *luan* is mentioned.

The *fêng* and the *luan* are both figured in the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng*, and I am authorised by Professor A. Newton, the eminent ornithologist, to say that, in his opinion, the former could only be the work of some artist who had seen a peacock, and especially the *Pavo cristatus* of India Proper. In like manner Professor Newton thinks that the *luan* is based upon an acquaintance with the Argus pheasant, found in Borneo and Malacca. Thus, it is most probable that the two fabulous birds of the Chinese are simply these two real birds, with such supernatural attributes as would be likely to gather around them from hearsay. They were both auspicious birds, and only appeared when the country was well governed. The *luan* was said to rank 鳳鳥之亞 "second to the *fêng*;" and we are

told in the "Mirror of History" that on one occasion (A.D. 615) two peacocks were 奏以爲鸞 "reported to the Emperor as *luan*."

In a note on a poem by 范泰 Fan T'ai of the Sung dynasty, who died A.D. 427, and also in the 爾雅翼 *Erh Ya I*, we have the following story:—"Formerly, a king of Chi-pin (*Kapani*) secured a *luan*, to which he became much attached. He wanted to make it 鳴 sing, but could not succeed; so he put it into a golden cage and fed it on choice food, and for three years redoubled his efforts to make it sing, all without avail. Then the king's wife said, I have heard that birds will sing when they see one of their own species. Why not hang up a mirror to give a reflection of it? The king followed this advice; and when the *luan* saw itself, it uttered a piercing cry, and soaring upwards, was soon lost to sight in the clouds."

Altogether, it seems clear that Si Wang Mu's bird was really a 孔 peacock, which is said to have been known to the Chinese so early as the twelfth century B.C., when, according to the *Erh Ya I*, it appeared as tribute sent to 成王 King Ch'êng of the Chou dynasty. It is also mentioned in the same work as being, like the *luan*, "second to the *fêng*," and as obtainable in the third century A.D. from Khoten. In the 漢書 "History of the Han Dynasty," two peacocks

Which must have been the variety found in Java.

are said to have been sent as tribute in B.C. 179 by 趙佗 Chao T'o, king of Yüeh; hence the popular name for the peacock, 南客 "guest from the south." The Sanskrit term for peacock is recorded as 摩由邏 *mo-yu-lo* = *mayūra*; and the Chinese word *k'ung* is explained in the 說文 *Shuo Wên*, circa A.D. 100, as 乙 the bird which brings 子 children, and is therefore associated with offspring. It is also said 因雷聲而孕 "to conceive at the sound of thunder."

In order to establish his thesis that Si Wang Mu was the Queen of Sheba, Professor Forke (p. 135) has to identify the *fêng* (or *fêng-huang*) phoenix

鳳凰圖



with the ostrich, partly on the ground that the character 鳳 is the modern form of 鵬 *p'êng*, the rukh, a big bird which he thinks was based upon the ostrich. Partly, also (p. 136), because the *fêng-huang* is said by Wang Ch'ung, A.D. 27—97, to have been five feet in height and as big as a horse, which he thinks would be about the equivalent height of an ostrich. This height Professor Forke admits to be "about two metres," *i. e.* over six feet; the height of the ostrich however varies from six to eight feet. Here Professor Forke seems to me to have unduly stretched his lines.

(1) The *Shuo Wên* does not say that 鵬 is "the old form of *fêng*," but that it is "also an old form of *fêng*,"—a very different matter. The old form of *fêng*, as given by the *Shuo Wên*, was 朋 = associates or followers, explained as referring to the myriad birds which always followed a flight of phoenixes. The radical 鳥 was of course a later addition. Further, the *p'êng* rukh first appears in Chinese literature in the pages of Chuang Tzû, 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., ages after the *fêng* phoenix had become a familiar term; and as its back is described as "many thousand *li* in breadth," it may safely be regarded as a creation of that writer's brain.

(2) Professor Forke has taken the foot of the Han dynasty as equal to the foot of modern China, whereas it must have been considerably less, or other measurements would come out absurdly. The ordinary foot of the Han dynasty, so far as it can be calculated, seems to have been about 8 inches English, which fits in well enough with the heights assigned to Chinese horses in early days, namely, 6 to 8 feet: 六尺以上曰馬、八尺以上曰龍, and even with the height of Confucius, which has been given as 9 ft. 6 inches = Eng. 6 ft. 6 inches—a very tall Chinaman.

(3) When translating the Chinese word 馬 *ma*, Professor Forke evidently had in his mind the European horse, and not the small Ssüch'uan breed known in China, which runs down to as low as 11 hands. Even the Mongolian breed, probably not known to Wang Ch'ung, would only average about 13 hands, = (English) 4 feet 4 in.—scarcely the height of an ostrich—whereas the 韓詩外傳 *Han shih wai chuan*, quoted by Professor Forke, gives the height of the *fêng* as only (Chinese) 4 feet 5 inches. Further, the phoenix is said by Wang Ch'ung to be 五色 *wu sê* "five-coloured;" to suit which Professor Forke (p. 138), while admitting that the feathers of the ostrich are not "five-coloured," proceeds to argue that the five colours can all, with the exception of blue, be found in different parts of the ostrich's body, and even the missing blue in one particular species of ostrich.

(4) The ostrich is figured in the *T'u shu chi ch'êng*, and is correctly described as having 腳二指 two toes, with 毛 feathers like the hair of a camel. It thus differs *toto coelo* from the *fêng huang* (see illustration),

which is said to fly, to settle on trees, and to have a 音激揚 very shrill voice.

Among the sculptures above-mentioned, there is a representation of 東方公 *Tung fang kung*, the "King-Father of the East," the husband of Si Wang Mu, sitting majestically on a central throne in heaven, surrounded by winged attendants, winged horses, chariots, etc., and having Si Wang Mu on his left. His personal name, we are told in the 三才圖會, was 倪 *I*, and his style was 君明 *chün ming*, which may stand for "ruler of the bright [sky]," in reference to the east. Husband and wife were said to 共理二氣 調成天地 "manage conjointly the male and female powers of nature and arrange the harmony of heaven and earth," from which harmony such blessings as rain or fair weather result, each in due season, to man.

Professor Chavannes (*La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine*, p. 64) says, "Si Wang-mou doit avoir été à l'origine le chef de quelque tribu de l'Asie centrale; la légende la transforma peu à peu et lui donna tous les attributs d'un mythe solaire; c'est pour compléter ce mythe qu'on a inventé le roi d'Orient." Among the attributes of the latter may be mentioned a large bird.

To sum up. Si Wang Mu, "a daughter of Heaven and Earth," has almost always been regarded as a woman by the Chinese. That may be gathered from our picture, and from other sources mentioned; and that she was a goddess may be inferred from the place among 神仙 "spirits and immortals" assigned to her in all encyclopaedias. She was dazzlingly beautiful. She dwelt on a mountain in the far west, above the clouds. Thus, in the annexed picture, where she is dressed in Chinese fashion, she is seen standing on clouds, and in the above account of her visit to the Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty she is described as descending from heaven. In one place we are told that her domain 有弱水周廻繞 帀 "is surrounded by the Weak Water;" in another that 其山之下弱水九

重洪濤萬丈非飊車羽輪不可到也 “at the foot of the mountain runs the nine-fold stream of the Weak Water, its vast waters ten ^{Thousand} ~~myriad~~ feet in width, so that without a flying chariot and winged wheels it would be impossible to cross.” She had a carefully-guarded garden of peaches which conferred immortality.

In the illustration, an attendant is seen carrying a dish of these “peaches.” The food which she provided from the kitchens of heaven was also associated with immortality. She sent a female messenger, dressed in blue-green, to bear her commands down to earth. She was attended by handmaids. She wore a coronet or headdress.

As seen in the sculptures. In the illustration her hair is dressed in Chinese style. She was evidently possessed of considerable power. She was attended by a peacock, which bird was associated with offspring, and she had a husband who was apparently a great heavenly potentate, who was represented with a large bird, and who with her assistance ruled over the powers of nature.

Is there any personage who answers in any sense to the above?

Hera, or Juno, was a goddess, the grand-daughter of Uranus and Gæa (Heaven and Earth), and possessed of great beauty. She dwelt on Mount Olympus, in the far west (of China), above the clouds. She had a husband who was King of the Gods, and whose special weapon was the thunderbolt, and their domain was surrounded by Oceanus. She had a carefully-guarded garden of apples which conferred immortality. The food and drink she was accustomed to use were *ἀμβροσίη καὶ νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν* “ambrosia and red nectar,” the former of which was particularly associated with immortality. She had a special female messenger, Iris, the rainbow, whom she sent with her commands to earth:—

. καὶ μὲν τῇν θεῶν λάτριν
Ἴριν

Hercules Furens, 822.

It was Iris whom Juno despatched to release the struggling soul of unhappy Dido:—

Ergo Iris croceis per coelum roscida pennis,
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
Devolat, et supra caput astitit.

She wore a coronet or headdress,

See the *Ludovisi Hera* in the "Dictionary of Classical Antiquities" by Nettleship and Sandys.

and she was attended by the Hours. She had a husband, Ζεύς (Sanskrit, *Dyaus* the bright sky), who was the bringer of light, and the cause of dawn, νεφέληγερέτα the cloud-gatherer, the general superintendent of the powers of nature, and the masculine representative of those natural forces, the feminine aspect of which was symbolised by herself. She came to be represented with a peacock, the *Pavo cristatus*, which is especially the peacock of Juno; and as Juno among the Romans she was worshipped as Lucina, the goddess of childbirth.

If these are mere coincidences, it may be added that the peaches of Si Wang Mu are not described as the ordinary 桃, but as 蟠桃, a term still in use for the "flat peach", which is often very like an apple in shape. There is, however, a great possibility that 蟠 (also read *fan*) 桃 stands for what was originally 番桃 "barbarian peaches," a term for the apple, which fruit is very much unknown in China, except in the north 蘋出北 whence they come. A curious point is that apples are said to 解愁 "dissipate grief," which is precisely what is said in the 酉陽雜俎 *Yu Yang Tsa Tzu* about the particular kind of peach known as the "Si Wang Mu Peach:" 王母甘桃食解勞 "the sweet peach of Wang Mu will dissipate trouble."

Again, the term 弱水, hitherto translated "weak water" (which is meaningless), should be "Sluggish stream," by analogy with 弱行 "to walk feebly," (*Tso Chuan*, 昭公, 7th year) said of a man

who 足不良 “had a bad foot,” and could not walk fast. And this appears to be a very obvious meaning of βαθύρροος and ἀκαλαρρείτης, both of which are Homeric epithets of Oceanus, slowness of movement being usually associated with vast masses of water.

Ἐξ ἀκαλαρρείταο βαθυρροῦ Ὠκεανῶο

Classical scholars still persist in such renderings of the former epithet as “deep-flowing,” which only shirks the difficulty, or “deep and flowing,” which is barely an improvement, and “brimming,” which seems to be dragged in at all costs just to show that the compound can yield some intelligible sense. Yet βαθύρροος is also an epithet of χρόνος time, and a reference to this effect (*Synes. H. 9. 61*) is given in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, *s. v.*, but without translation. On turning up the *Hymns of Synesius*, edited by Dionysius Petavius (Paris, 1612), the following passage appeared:—

Ενθ' οὔτε βαθύρροος
Ακαμαντοπόδας χρόνος
Χθονὸς ἔκγονα σύρων

Which means

Where neither slow-rolling
Unweary-footed Time,
Carrying off the offspring of Earth

Petavius, who was the “interpreter” of these lines into Latin, evidently did not know what to make of βαθύρροος, and the best he could do for the three words was “*immensum indefessumque tempus*.” But slowness of movement in water is popularly associated with depth in more languages than Greek. In English we have

Still waters run deep

and in Chinese the saying

水深流去慢
人貴語話遲

Deep water is slow to run,
A superior man is slow to speak.

Oceanus, however, does not flow nine times around the world; it is the river Styx

. . . . tristique palus inamabilis unda

Alligat, et novies Styx interfusa coercet.

Virg. *Æneid*, VI, 438.

which flows nine times around Hades, not around the world:—

Where the soul-boat glides

O'er the nine dull tides

With death's daily countless mass

But this discrepancy may easily be accounted for by the confusion of two legends; the extraordinary feature is the mention, in this connection, of a stream which girdles the domain of Si Wang Mu nine times. Similarly, in one of the sculptures where Si Wang Mu appears, there are animals with human heads, evidently centaurs, who have nothing particular to do with Hera, but whose appearance in Chinese art helps to establish the hypothesis of Greek influence.

The "Weak Water" is first mentioned in the "Book of History" (Tribute of Yü), which must have been compiled many centuries before any tradition of Oceanus could possibly have reached China. There was, in fact, a river of that name (later on 溺水) away beyond the extreme limits of the empire on the far west, of which next to nothing was known; and this particular river seems to have become associated with Si Wang Mu simply because some slow-flowing stream was necessary to complete the legend. Chinese scholiasts, however, like their colleagues of the west in regard to *βαθύπποος*, have missed the point of slowness of motion, and have provided a much more far-fetched explanation, namely, that the stream is called the Weak Water because its water 鴻毛不能載也 "is not strong enough to support even a goose's feather."

Professor Forke (*op. cit.* p. 150) says, "By the term Weak Water, following Bretschneider, I understand the Dead Sea." Now Bretschneider wrongly states that the Chinese call this water weak because it has so

little buoyancy that only feather weights will swim on it. This however not being applicable to the Dead Sea, but rather the reverse, he declares that the Chinese themselves have altered the real facts concerning Dead Sea water into exactly the opposite sense (see Hirth's *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 291, where this identification is rightly denounced). Bretschneider goes on to suggest that *Jo shui* (Weak Water) is simply a phonetic reproduction of the river *Jo-rdan*, which flows into the Dead Sea.

Again, Zeus being the father of gods and men, Hera was inferentially the mother. Also, a common Homeric title of hers is *πότνια* "Queen," and in No. 12 of the Homeric hymns she is called *Ἀθανάτων βασιλείαν* "Queen of the Gods." So here we have complete the "Queen-Mother of the West."

Further, it is possible that the *Si* of Si Wang Mu, probably pronounced in the second century B.C. more like *sei* (= say), may simply be the first syllable of Hera, taken in accordance with Chinese monosyllabic custom to represent the whole name. For that the Greek aspirate at one time passed into *s* may be seen from such examples as *ἄλς*, *sal*, *ἔδος* *sedes*, *ὕπνος* *somnus*, *ὕλη* *silva*, and, I should like to be able to add "H[ρᾱ]—which has been referred to the Sanskrit *svar* "the sky"—*Sei*, the first syllable of Si Wang Mu.

Professor Forke (p. 120) makes the 西 in Si Wang Mu (old sound *se* or *sae*) = the *Se* in the Arabic *Seba* (*Sabaea*).

So too *Ζεύς* became *Diovis*, and later on *Iovis*: and without wishing to press unduly in this direction, it may fairly be mentioned again, that the personal name of the husband of Si Wang Mu is stated by the Chinese to have been 倪 *I* (pronounced as in French or Italian). Also, that the portrait of the grave old gentleman given in the *San Ts'ai T'u Hui* as the portrait of the King-Father of the East may possibly be a far-off semblance of some presentation of Olympian Jove.

These pages were already in the hands of the printer when I received Vol. V of Professor Chavannes' *Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, pp. 480—489 of which he devotes to a note on Si Wang Mu. In this note

the writer does not put forward any new view as to the name of Si Wang Mu, "que je tiens pour être à l'origine le nom d'une tribu barbare de l'ouest." He says (p. 479) that the *Bamboo Books* "nous semblent être un livre d'une authenticité incontestable," which will lead me to reconsider my "very doubtful documents" of page 1; though in the present case the authenticity or otherwise of the *Bamboo Books* has no bearing on the subject. He admits (p. 483) that there is "une partie du *Mou t'ien tse tchouan* dont l'authenticité me semble suspecte," namely, the poetry; and finally performs a real service by showing, almost to demonstration, (p. 487) that "le vrai héros du *Mou t'ien tse tchouan* est, non le roi *Mou*, de la dynastie *Tcheou*, mais son homonyme, le duc *Mou*, de Ts'in, qui régna de 659 à 621 av. J.-C., ... ce qui explique pourquoi, dans le titre de la relation, le prince figure avec son nom posthume *Mou*." This disposes at once of the 10th century theory, though of course it does not prove that the history of the famous journey dates even from B.C. 621.

WHAT IS FILIAL PIETY?

In the second of the twenty short chapters which contain almost all that is known of the sayings and doings of Confucius, and which form that one of the Four Books known as the 論語 *Lun Yü*, occur two characters,—*σήμετρα λυγρά* indeed to many generations of Chinese scholars, native and foreign alike. The two characters are of considerable importance, involving as they do an answer given by Confucius to the question of a disciple,—What is filial piety?

This particular question is immediately preceded by two others, all three couched in identical terms, suggested by three different individuals. The answer to the first has been stigmatised by Dr. Legge in his *Chinese Classics* as "enigmatical," a view with which no one who reads his translation is likely to disagree. 孟武伯問孝、子曰、父母唯其疾之憂 "Mäng Woo asked what filial piety was. The Master said, Parents are anxious lest their children should be sick."

This rendering is based upon the exegesis of 朱熹 *Chu Hsi*, A.D. 1130—1200, which has been officially substituted throughout the Confucian Canon for the exegesis of earlier scholars, from K'ung An-kuo, 2nd century B.C., downwards. Here *Chu Hsi* adds the gloss, "Therefore children should take care of their persons;" the result being a reply on altogether a lower plane than that which has conferred immortality upon Confucian utterances, and certainly even than that adopted by the older commentators, "Let your parents

have no anxieties save those arising from your sicknesses," which is undoubtedly the correct interpretation.

In the second instance Dr. Legge translates 子游問孝、子曰、今之孝者是謂能養、至於犬馬皆能有養、不敬、何以別乎 "Tsze-yew asked what filial piety was. The Master said, The filial piety of now-a-days means the support of one's parents. But dogs and horses likewise are able to do something in the way of support;—without reverence, what is there to distinguish the one support given from the other?"

Here Dr. Legge has taken the older interpretation, which he says is better. To me it seems absurd to think of Confucius as arguing that dogs and horses are able to do something in the way of support of their sires. Chu Hsi, who in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred improves upon the older scholars, now puts a rational interpretation before us. He explains the answer to mean that filial piety cannot consist in mere support of parents, "for dogs and horses also get support from us; unless there is reverence, where would there be any difference?"

The object however of this note is rather to call attention to the third instance in which the same question is propounded. 子夏問孝、子曰 Tzū-hsia asked what is filial piety. Confucius said "色難 *Sé nan*." The question is, and has been for twenty centuries past, What do these two characters mean?

According to the 說文 *Shuo Wên*, the oldest Chinese dictionary, 1st century A.D., the former character originally meant "facial expression, as seen in sorrow or in joy;" and so it came to mean the countenance, colour, beauty (like *color* in Latin), anger, lust, sort, kind, quality, etc.,—a most elusive word. The latter character means "difficult."

Now come the commentators. The old explanation of the Han scholars was at any rate brief: 承順其親之顏色爲難

"To apprehend and to act in harmony with the facial expression of one's parents is difficult." This interpretation, says 張甄陶 Chang Chên-t'ao, a scholar of the 18th century, who wrote the 四書翼註論文, "was well changed by Chu Hsi; for it is not the countenance which presents any difficulty, but the heart."

Another scholar of about the same date, 王步青 Wang Pu-ch'ing, who wrote the 四書本義匯參, thought that the old explanation was 亦通 "also adequate," though he adopted, as the more satisfactory, that of Chu Hsi.

Chu Hsi's note on the passage is as follows: 色難謂事親之際惟色爲難也 蓋孝子之有深愛者、必有和氣、有和氣者、必有愉色、有愉色者、必有婉容、故事親之際惟色爲難耳。

"*Sé nan* means that at the time of waiting on one's parents it is the facial expression which is the difficulty For the fact that a filial son has deep love causes him to have a sympathetic feeling; this feeling causes him to have a happy expression; and this expression causes him to wear a pleasing look; therefore, when waiting on one's parents, the only difficulty is with the countenance."

The above is made somewhat clearer for the benighted foreigner in a little work entitled 二論啓幼引端, prepared by a scholar of the 19th century, named 劉忠 Liu Chung, for the express use of beginners. There we read 色是臉上有和悅的顏色、難是不易有也. "*Sé* means having a sympathetic and pleased expression on the face; *nan* means that it is difficult to have this."

The writer goes on to say, 蓋人內有一分愛父母的心思、外便有一分和悅的顏色、內有十分深愛、外便有十分悅色、若無深愛便無悅色、是假性不來的、所以爲難. "If in a man's heart

there is one part (of ten) love for his parents, on his face there will be one part sympathetic and pleased expression; if ten parts, then ten parts; but if there is no such love, there will be no such expression; and the difficulty will lie in trying to assume it."

Thus it may be said that according to the old school the difficulty in practising filial piety is to find out from your parents' expression what they really want; while according to the modern school the difficulty is to show your parents that peculiar expression which comes only on the faces of those who are inspired by deep love.

It may now be interesting to note what foreign translators have done, like the dogs and horses of the old school, "in the way of support" for either side.

In *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, translated by P. Intorcetta, S.J., and others, Paris, 1687 (p. 12), we have the following early attempt to deal with our text:—

"Discipulus çû hiá similiter quaestionem instituit de obedientia filiali. Confucius respondet: Oris alacritas, sive constans alacritas illa filialis obedientiae quae adeò in ipsa fronte totoque ore amantis ac reverentis filii reluceat, difficilis est illa quidem, sed profectò nota propè certa verae germanaeque virtutis."

In *The Works of Confucius*, translated by J. Marshman, Serampore, 1809 (p. 97), we have what is scarcely an improvement on the diffuse Jesuit, and is evidently from a "teacher," not from a commentary:—

"Chee-ha enquired respecting filial piety.

Chee says, 'It is difficult indeed.'"

In a note we read, "Or, 'the manner is difficult.'

Suk denotes colour, manner, etc."

Marshman's own commentary on the above runs thus:—" 'Difficult indeed;' that is, the manner is difficult in which parents should be served."

In the *Chinese Classics*, by Dr. Legge, 1861 (p. 12), we have, "Tsze-hea asked what filial piety was. The Master said, The difficulty is with the countenance." This is followed by a note headed, "The duties of filial piety must be performed with a cheerful face," — an exegesis which seems to establish a school of its own.

Sir Thomas Wade, who denounced Legge's magnificent work as "woodeu," produced the following, professedly in accordance with the Han dynasty school, in his *Lun Yü, Being Utterances of Kung* (sic) *Tzû*, 1869 (p. 8): —

"Tzû Hsia asked [the Teacher] touching filial piety. The Teacher said: The difficulty is in the bearing of the child [his outward manifestations of the duteous feeling]."

In a footnote we are told that the modern "teacher," in whose words Sir Thomas Wade was ever too ready to swear, "describes the difficulty to be this: in every station of life there is a demeanour, proper to each, to be assumed; this must be laid aside before one's parent and elder, and the inner feeling made more apparent, yet not familiarly nor irreverently," — all of which, so far as it is intelligible, is of course based upon Chu Hsi and not upon the Han school.

In the *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae*, by A. Zottoli, S.J., 1879 (p. 217), we have the following, which standing as it does, without annotation of any kind, seems unintelligible.

"Tse hia quaesivit de pietate filiali: Philosophus ait: oris alacritas, difficilis.'

In *Les Quatre Livres*, by S. Couvreur, S.J., 1895 (p. 79), we have a bilingual version, as follows:—

Tzeu hia ayant interrogé sur la piété filiale, le Maître répondit: Il est difficile de tromper par un faux semblant de piété filiale.	Tzeu hia interrogavit de pietate filiali. Magister ait: Species (pietatis filialis) difficile induitur (id est, pietatis filialis specie decipere difficillimum est).
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In *The Discourses and Sayings of Confucius*, by Ku Hung-ming, 1898 (p. 9), we have the following, also without note of any kind:—

“Another disciple asked the same question. Confucius answered, The difficulty is the expression of your look.”

All the above interpretations and translations betray, on the part of the native commentator a singular want of flexibility, on the part of the foreign translator too servile a deference to stereotyped views, hallowed, not by critical insight, but by centuries alone.

It may seem presumptuous after the above exordium to declare that the meaning of these two characters lies, à la Bill Stumps, upon the surface, and that all you have to do, as the poet says, is to

俯拾卽是
不取諸鄰

Stoop, and there it is;
Seek it not right nor left!

When Tzū-hsia asked Confucius, “What is filial piety?” the latter replied simply,

“色 TO DEFINE IT 難 IS DIFFICULT,”

a most intelligible and appropriate answer.

The character 色 comes to mean “define” through the very simple steps of “sort” or “kind,” and then—as every Chinese character can be a verb, substantive, or other part of speech, with equal ease—“to sort,” “to arrange under sorts,” “to place in the proper category,” “to define.” *Solvuntur tabulae*.

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ART THOU THE CHRIST?

The publication, in my "Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art," 1905, of a certain woodcut here reproduced, has given rise to some discussion as to the subject intended by the artist. By the great unwashed of China's millions this subject has been geuerally accepted as a kind of pictorial harmony of their three leading Gospels, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism,—such being the order of precedence authorised in A.D. 574 by Imperial Edict,—the three figures being those of the founders, Confucius, Lao Tzū, and Buddha.



The legend attached to the picture—

函	三	爲	一
<i>Han</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>i</i>

—has been explained, in accordance with this popular view, to mean that the Gospels in question, though to outward appearances three, are in reality one in aim, that aim being the welfare of the human race.

Taoism and Buddhism have long since flourished peaceably side by side, and have even borrowed so much from one another that a tyro will often have trouble to distinguish between the two. This, however, has not always been the case. In past centuries there was a long struggle for the mastery; and according to the bias of the Court of the day, sometimes one and sometimes the other would be alternately blessed and banned.

The first Emperor of the Liang dynasty, who reigned A.D. 502—549, was a devout Buddhist. He lived upon priestly fare, and even wore the dress of a priest. He interpreted the Buddhist commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," in its strictest sense, and caused the sacrificial victims to be made of dough. In 824, another Emperor died from swallowing the Taoist elixir of life. In 845 Taoism was still the favoured faith; 4,600 Buddhist temples were destroyed, and 260,500 priests and nuns were forced to return to lay life, together with 2,000 fire-worshippers or followers of Mazdéism. In 859, the Emperor Hsüan Tsung restored Buddhism to its former position. And so on. Occasionally, as in 574, subsequent to the establishment of precedence above-mentioned, both religions would lie under the same interdict, which, it must be carefully noted, was never extended to Confucianism. Even the most infatuated among the Imperial devotees of Taoism or Buddhism never dared to do more than be lukewarm towards the teachings of Confucius, although these were of course fatally antagonistic to the superstitions of the other two. A Confucianist of the type of Han Yü, who presented an objectionable memorial begging the Emperor not to worship a bone of Buddha, would receive such punishment as transfer to an out-of-the-way post; but those who in religious matters left the Court alone, were left alone themselves.

A *modus vivendi*, then, for the rival champions of Taoism and Buddhism, would seem to be a most desirable consummation, whereas Confucianism was on a different footing altogether.

We may now come to the picture itself, which has been taken from a volume of woodcuts, printed, according to a note at the end, in the year 1588. The title of the collection is 方氏墨譜 *Fang shih mo p'u*, and it consists of six volumes, averaging thirty-three leaves of pictures and three leaves of index to each. It was published by a man named 方于魯 *Fang Yü-lu* (T. 建元), whose family appear to have been makers of the highly-scented and artistically-decorated cakes of ink which used to be known, and may perhaps still be known, in England as "Indian Ink." The woodcuts are reproductions of pictures, ancient and modern, employed in the decoration of these cakes. Some of them are signed by well-known artists; and others, though not signed, can still be referred to their proper sources. Thus, on page 3 of volume IV we have a basket of flowers, signed 左千 *Tso-kan* = 吳廷 *Wu T'ing* of the Ming dynasty; on page 6 of volume V, a picture of 三車 *San chü* the Three Conveyances (*Triyāna*), signed 南羽 *Nan-yü* = 丁雲鵬 *Ting Yün-p'êng* of the Ming dynasty; on page 21 *verso* of volume V, a picture of "Brushing an Elephant," without signature but with a side-note which reads 唐閻立本掃象圖 "Picture of Brushing an Elephant, by 閻立本 *Yen Li-pên* of the T'ang dynasty;" and finally the picture under consideration, without signature or guidance of any kind beyond the legend quoted above.

During the seventh century, there flourished at the capital of China two famous painter brothers, named Yen, both of whom are known to have painted many pictures of the numerous foreigners who thronged the Chinese Court upon the establishment of a new and enlightened dynasty. Some of the aliens thus painted were bearers of tribute from various vassal nations; others were Arabs, and

Nestorians seeking converts to Christianity, subsequently known to the Chinese as 景教 the Luminous Doctrine. On page 40 of my book, the following passage will be found:—

From the pencil of one or other of the brothers Yen comes in all probability the picture of "A Man of Ta-ch'in" (Syria), as seen in the "Account of Strange Nations," a fourteenth-century copy of which is in the University Library at Cambridge. Also the very curious woodcut, entitled "Three in One," consisting of a figure of Christ, a Nestorian priest kneeling at his feet with one hand upraised in benediction, and another priest standing behind. Nestorian Christianity soon disappeared from China, leaving the famous Tablet in Si-ngan Fu as a witness that it had reached the Far East,—an honour which must in future be shared by this unpretending picture, which contributes one more to the early portraits of Christ.

Under date 11th August, 1905, a reviewer in the Literary Supplement of *The Times*, who skilfully combined courtesy with criticism, made the following remarks:—

An astonishing misconception which cannot be passed over is founded on a sixteenth-century woodcut of a circular cake of ink, which is reproduced on page 37, and which, it is strangely claimed, "contributes one more to the early portraits of Christ," in that it is labelled "Han San Wei Yi," "One in Three." The group of three figures on this curious engraving is presumed by the author to consist of Christ and two Nestorian priests. But the supposed Christ is surely the Buddha, recognized by his curly hair with the tonsure, earrings, bare feet, and by the peculiar canonical way in which the *kashaya* is worn so as to leave the right arm bare; the tall figure in the background is Confucius, with the traditional features of the famous portrait by Wu Tao-yuan cut in stone at the Confucian temple in Shantung; the third figure, also standing, is Lao Tzŭ, with left hand raised, as if discoursing, while he holds his special attribute, a roll, grasped in his right hand. The triad in this group, it is suggested with some confidence, is really composed of the founders of the three great religions of China, which are often declared in native parlance to be one. If so, it has no part in the Christian Trinity.

This view was echoed by a Mr. Berthold Laufer in *The New York Evening Post* of 16th September, 1905, coupled with some quite unnecessary sneers and insinuations, to which I should have paid no attention whatever but for the fact that on the 7th July preceding, Mr.

Laufer had written and asked me for a free copy of the book in question,— an application which, in my ignorance of any claim on the part of Mr. Laufer to be supplied gratuitously with my books, I felt myself constrained to refuse. The above incident, however, shall not prevent me from giving due weight to Mr. Laufer's arguments as set forth by himself:—

The representation in the picture in question is a very well-known subject in Chinese art, and readily understood by every Chinaman. It is styled "Picture of the Three Saints," who are Confucius, Laotse, and Buddha. The underlying idea in the combination of these representatives of the three principal religions of China is to symbolize the close association of the three creeds in the minds of the people, which is the meaning of the phrase translated by Giles "Three in One." The personage taken by Giles for Christ is unmistakably the figure of Buddha, with the characteristic tonsure of the head, barefooted, and robed in the garb of an Indian monk—an exact copy of the well-known Buddha statues and paintings of India. In no representation of Christ is He pictured with a tonsure. The "kneeling Nestorian priest" of Mr. Giles is Laotse, who is not kneeling at all, but standing erect; and the other "Nestorian priest" behind him is Confucius. Representations similar to this picture of the three saints are very frequent in Chinese and Japanese art, and are found also in temples in the form of sculptures. A splendid colored woodcut of this motive after a painting by Masanobu Kanô (1453—90), is given in the fourth number of the *Kokka*, a Japanese journal devoted to art and archaeology.

The original woodcut reproduced in Giles's book is not older than the middle of the sixteenth century. Without giving any reason or explanation, Mr. Giles attributes it to the end of the seventh century, and connects it with the name of a certain painter, Yen, of that period.

Before proceeding, I may point out (1) that "without giving any reason or explanation," in other words "authority," Mr. Laufer states that the woodcut in question "is styled Picture of the Three Saints;" and (2) that it "is not older than the middle of the sixteenth century."

The "Confucius, Lao Tzū, and Buddha," theory is of course ancient history, and was discarded by me in face of the arguments which I shall now try to set forth as succinctly as possible. These

may be divided into (1) Artistic and (2) Linguistic, and may be taken conveniently in this order.

I.—To begin with, the three figures occupy very different positions, and yield very different values in a group which, to take my critics' view, is to exhibit the oneness of the doctrines professed by the three Teachers. "Buddha" completely dominates the scene, and it must be plain to any one that the other two are in more or less deferential, if not reverential, attitudes. "Lao Tzŭ" is, in my opinion, a kneeling figure, the little toe-points being a later addition by the wood-engraver, when the kneeling position began to fade under repeated cuttings. He is moreover holding up a hand with the sign of benediction (unnoticed by the above critics), a gesture not to be found in any of the known portraits of Lao Tzŭ, nor indeed, so far as my search has gone, in any Chinese portraits of any worthies, native or foreign alike. The nearest thing to it is found, curiously enough, in images of Buddha. I have looked through the 三才圖會 *San ts'ai t'u hui*, and the 古聖賢像傳畧 *Ku shêng hsien hsien chuan lüeh*; nowhere have I been able to find anything of the kind. "Lao Tzŭ" has also a very marked tonsure, and is almost identical in feature with the colourless figure standing behind him, who does duty for "Confucius,"—a mistake hardly likely to be committed by a Chinese artist. I have examined what may be called the authentic portraits of Confucius in such works as the 聖廟志輯要 *Shêng miao chih chi yao*, the 聖廟祀典圖考 *Shêng miao ssŭ tien t'u k'ao*, and the 聖蹟圖 *Shêng chi t'u*, but again I fail to find any striking resemblance. This of course proves nothing, as no two portraits of Christ are much alike; even the position of Christ on the cross, about which unanimity might be expected, is differently portrayed by different artists. The accompanying pictures of (1) Confucius in official dress and (2) in ordinary teaching costume, and (3) of Lao Tzŭ, are taken (1) from the first of the three works

last enumerated, (2) from the third, and (3) from the *Ku shêng hsien* *hsiang chuan lüeh*, respectively. It will be seen that Confucius (2),



as always in undress, is shown with hair gathered at the top of the head and fastened by a pin run through a small ornamental contrivance placed above. This was in fact the prevailing fashion of

the Chou dynasty, and would no doubt have been followed by Lao Tzū but for an awkward baldness which condemned him to



wear the topknot a little lower down.

Much stress is laid by my critics on the curly hair, bare feet,

kāshaya, tonsure, and earrings(?) of "Buddha." But that is precisely what I should expect from a 7th century Chinese artist, whose imagination had been vividly stirred by such a mystery as Trinity



in Unity, but who was in possession of no details. He would hear that an embodiment of Three in One was the God of a people in the West; and he would naturally turn for items of dress to the

(by that date) well-known figure of Buddha, whose home was also in the West. He may never have spoken or had any communication with a Nestorian priest, though he may very probably have seen one, and he may possibly have actually thought that this new God was another Buddha. On the other hand, large ears, always emphasised in his portraits, were one of Lao Tzū's personal characteristics; there is no sign of these, however, in our present woodcut.

It remains to be asked if there has been any period in history, from the 7th century onwards, when the Chinese people would tolerate a picture in which Confucius — Lao Tzū can be ignored — was exhibited in a subordinate position, not to say an attitude almost of adoration, towards Buddha. Foolish Emperors have more than once suffered from religious melancholia, Buddhist and Taoist, and have indulged in many wild vagaries; but no Chinese artist could have painted such a picture without infinite risk to his valued skin, nor would such blasphemy have had any chance of being preserved through centuries to the present day. Mr. Laufer states *ex cathedra*, though it is difficult to say what claims he has to mount the tribune, that our picture dates only from the 16th century. Still less in that case would any one have dared to place Confucius, the Uncrowned King, in a position so derogatory to his greatness; for never since the 16th century have either Buddhism or Taoism obtained any favour, Imperial or popular, as against the Doctrine of the ancient sages, of which Confucius is the venerated Prophet. An ignorant Chinese "teacher," cornered for an answer, will no doubt rattle off "Confucius, Lao Tzū, and Buddha," having in his mind the stock saying that "The Three Religions are really One," and not having in his mind the faintest apperception of the artistic question taken in connection with the relative positions of Confucianism and Buddhism. And so, in past centuries the real motive of the picture may well have passed out of mind, especially as Nestorian Christianity soon

completely disappeared, leaving absolutely no traces of a religion that must once have flourished vigorously, save and except the famous Nestorian Tablet. Then came the Japanese and carried off the false tradition to Japan, and painted pictures of "Confucius, Lao Tzū, and Buddha," but not, be it noted, on the lines of our present woodcut. In regard to the picture by Kanō Masauobu (1453—1490), quoted by Mr. Laufer, I am not fortunate enough to possess the *Kokka*; so I referred the question to my son, Mr. Lionel Giles of the British Museum, who writes,

Buddha is certainly not standing apart, like your Christ, but he is holding up his robe in much the same way. Lao Tzū is apparently conversing with him, and Confucius listening And after all, the great point is the aloofness of Christ in your picture. He is evidently intended to be 'of different clay' from the other two. And that is hardly the case in the *Kokka* picture.

II.—We now come to the linguistic question, which offers some curious points to those interested in the interpretation of Chinese.

The legend, already quoted, on what we may call the reverse of the ink-cake, consists of the four vertically-written characters, 函三爲一; literally, "Contain Three Be (or Make) One," = "Contains Three Being (or Making) One," and in ordinary English "Three in One."

This locution, with this sense, can be traced back so far as the 3rd century A.D. It has nothing whatever to do with the everyday phrase referring to the common aim of the "Three Doctrines," Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, which runs 三教歸一 *San chiao kuei i*, and means "Three Doctrines Unite One" = "The Three Doctrines have one and the same aim,"—the tolerant spirit of which is sometimes courteously extended to embrace even Christianity. The phrase will be found in the commentary on the History of the Earlier Han Dynasty, by 孟康 *Mêng K'ang*, at the beginning of the 律歷志 *Lǜ lì zhì* chapter on the "Pitchpipes and the

Calendar." The character 函 is there written 含; the latter means "to hold in the mouth," and is said in K'ang Hsi to be 通作函 used for the former. [K'ang Hsi gives the phrase under 函, noting that it is the same as 含.] The text refers to the relation between the pitchpipes and numbers, and is explained by Mêng K'ang, as follows: 黃鐘子律也子數一泰極元氣含三爲一 是以一數變而爲三也

The Yellow Bell is the *tzü* pitchpipe (i. e., it corresponds to the first of the twelve cyclical 支 Branches). The number belonging to *tzü* is one. Primeval ether which constituted the Absolute contained three in one; and so it was that the one underwent transformation, and became three.

Here we have plainly the idea of unity resolving itself into trinity.

Now let us take this phrase in connection with the picture, where it is alleged to mean—*N.B.* neither of my critics ventures to translate it—that the three figures represent Three Doctrines which are in essence One. Granting the correctness of this view, we are now faced by the fact that the only possible subject of 函 *han* "contain" is "picture;" that is to say, this picture contains three persons whose doctrines are one. Unfortunately for this theory, apart from its inherent weakness, the word *han* is not commonly used—one might almost say not used at all—in this sense. Any one can see by inspection that it is a picture-character, a representation, according to the 說文 *Shuo Wên*, of a tongue,—at any rate, of something contained, or shut up, in an envelope; and such indeed has always been its usage, with the very rarest exceptions, down to the present day. It would thus be an aptly-chosen character to express the embodiment in One Christ of the Three Persons of the Trinity; in fact, Trinity in Unity.

Finally, at the end of the book of woodcuts under discussion, there are three documents, the first two of which are from the pens of eminent writers, 王世貞 Wang Shih-chêng, A.D. 1526—1593,

and 王道貫 Wang Tao-kuan, respectively,—the latter being dated 1587—and are of the usual laudatory character; while the third and similar document is a 後序 closing note by one 方宇 Fang Yü, who was a clansman of Fang Yü-lu, mentioned above. After saying that the work was in six sections, and that it took five years to complete, the writer describes his delight in getting hold of a copy, and expatiates on the beauty of the varied scenes and figures of which it is composed,—

Some of which the ears and eyes have heard of and have seen, and some of which the ears and eyes have never heard of nor have seen.

Among those enumerated,

有一函三者 there is the *One who contains Three*,—

according to my interpretation. According to *The Times* critic and Mr. Laufer, this must read,

There is the one (picture) which contains three,

for surely it cannot mean,

There is the one (Doctrine) which contains three.

But it must mean,

There is the (picture of) One who contains Three.

In fact, no sense is to be got out of 函 *han* “contain,” unless the subject thereof be Christ. This view is further emphasised by the words which immediately follow:

有三生萬者 There is the *Three which produces Myriad*,—

alluding to the well-known cosmogonical theory of Lao Tzū,

一生二 二生三 三生萬物 One produced Two, Two produced Three, and Three produced the myriad things (in the universe),—

the subject of another picture altogether.

Trinity in Unity seems thus to have been associated by tradition with some Western teaching so late as 1588. It is true that two

Jesuits had already in 1582 established themselves in the province of Kuangtung, where they were joined in 1583 by the great Ricci; but it is very unlikely that the picture belongs to that date, for several reasons, not the least being that, in common with almost all the other pictures in the book, it would have been in such case accompanied by the signature of the artist. The *provenance* however of our woodcut is a matter of comparatively slight importance. The great point is to get rid of the absurd "Confucius, Lao Tzū, and Buddha" theory, which appears to have been started, snowball fashion, by some ignorant Chinaman, pushed on by Japanese artists, who however had wit enough to depart from it in their own works, and then to have been meekly swallowed by the few Europeans who have ever paid any attention to the matter. Thanks however to Fang Yü, and to his reading of the legend, light seems, in my opinion, to have been thrown on a spot that would otherwise have remained dark.

The above pages had already been written when Professor Hirth, of Columbia University, issued his "Scraps from a Collector's Notebook," which mainly consists of sixty-seven articles, ranging from three lines to a page or two, on the same number of Chinese painters belonging to the present dynasty, thus forming a very useful and valuable supplement to my book, which ends with the close of the Ming dynasty in 1644. In addition, there are biographical notes on forty-five ancient painters, nearly all of whom will be found in my collection, but about whom Professor Hirth has always something new to say. Then follow twenty-three "Notes on some old Art Historians and Publishers," all very interesting and instructive; several complete Indexes, with the Chinese characters in each case; and finally some short notes on the twenty-one illustrations which add so much to the charm of the book. It would give me much pleasure to enlarge further on the excellence of Professor Hirth's

work; for the moment however I am concerned only with some remarks of his on the picture immediately under discussion.

Omitting all mention of a misunderstanding by Professor Hirth (p. 67) in regard to the source of the picture, partly due to my inadvertence; and also, for the moment, of the 不可磨 question, which is a side issue, I will now quote what Professor Hirth, with a caution and restraint which Mr. Laufer will do well to imitate, says on p. 68 of his work:—

I am inclined to look upon the human figure, explained by Professor Giles as an old portrait of Christ, as the typical shape of an Indian, here representing Buddhism. The expression of his face, his beard and his curly hair have a certain family likeness with many Indian Buddhists depicted on Chinese wood-cuts, and his barefootedness seems to support this view.

I have already dealt with this point, but it may here be observed that Professor Hirth says "a certain family likeness," meaning of course that the resemblance is not very pronounced.

The two other figures are of a different type. I cannot discover any characteristics indicating their being in any way different from the traditional representations of Chinese sages.

The upper figure is wearing on his head something which looks like a biretta; the lower has a distinct tonsure. Among representations of Chinese sages, of which I have examined a large number, I can find none similar in these respects.

Their shoes and the way they show from underneath the drapery of their gowns are quite Chinese; moreover, the man to the right in front does not kneel, nor does he upraise his hand in benediction, but he holds in his right hand a scroll, while raising his left in admonition like one arguing, his colleague folding his hands in a manner often seen in old representations of sages with courtly manners, as for instance in a portrait of Confucius by Wu Tau-tzi, preserved in a rubbing from an old stone inscription reproduced in the *Kin-shi-so*.

It must be remembered that according to my theory the picture is a very old one, and has been recut over and over again, no doubt with changes introduced by the ignorant engraver. The toe-tips of

the lower figure are now visible enough; but were they always there? To me, the upper part of the body is that of a kneeling man. To me again, the upraised hand of the lower figure is clearly in the attitude of benediction,—little finger and third finger bent down. The other two hands visible are somewhat mixed, and might both be those of the upper figure, exhibiting an open scroll. I can see no sign of folded hands, on the strength of which Professor Hirth would identify the upper figure with Confucius. But he goes on to say,

From the traditional portrait of Confucius both these figures resemble him, which would be a hardly likely coincidence in a picture specially designed to illustrate the oneness of three dissimilar faiths. [Compare the portraits of Confucius here reproduced from the best possible authorities.]

but I am inclined to think that one of the two men represents Lau-tzi, a not very convincing remark. [Compare the portrait of Lao Tzū here given.]

the entire group being an early type of that subject taken in hand by hundreds of painters of all periods, "The Three Religions" (*san-kiau* 三教), Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism, as represented by the portraits of their founders. Under this title Ku K'ai-chī had painted a picture, and after him it has been one of the standard subjects up to the present day.

Ku K'ai-chih died soon after A.D. 405; but the term 三教 referring to Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, is said in the 壹是紀始 *I shih chi shih*, § V, to have been first used under the 六朝 Six Dynasties, when the Emperor 武帝 Wu Ti of the 周 Chou dynasty arranged the precedence of the three faiths, as stated above, and then proceeded to suppress Taoism and Buddhism. It occurs also in the 間易篇 *Wên i p'ien*, p. 3 verso, of 王通 Wang T'ung, A.D. 583—616; and there the writer seems to lament

that the religious energies of the nation had been dissipated in several directions instead of being concentrated in one.

In this connection, it may be remarked, for the benefit of those who do not happen to know, that the term 三教, as found in the more ancient literature of China, has nothing to do with the same term in use since the year A.D. 574. It occurs first of all in the 白虎通 *Po hu t'ung* of 班固 Pan Ku, who died A.D. 92, and is there said to have been substituted for 三正 (?) "the three commencements of the year," on which, see Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, p. 154. The actual words are

三正之有失故立三教 it was because of the failure of the *san chêng* that the *san chiao* were established.

This establishment of the *san chiao* was stated to be due to 欲民反正道 "a desire that the people should return to the true path;" and the *san chiao* are further said to be 忠, 敬, and 文, loyalty, reverence, and culture, each of which gives birth to the next in an endless chain; but all this is obscure, and has not been properly elucidated; it is only mentioned here to show that if Ku K'ai-chih did really paint a picture with this title, his *motif* may have been quite different from that suggested by the term as understood in later times.

In the catalogues at my disposal which contain titles of Ku K'ai-chih's pictures, I can find no mention of any work answering to Professor Hirth's description; only so late as 吳道子 Wu Tao-tzû of the 8th century, and 孫位 Sun Wei, a religious painter of the 9th century, have I been able to discover 三教圖, and 三教象, generally understood as "Portraits of the [Founders of the] Three Religions," though the change of phrase must be taken into account. The next work on this subject is attributed to 支仲元 Chih Chung-yüan of the Five Dynasties; but so far as my search goes, not one of these has been described in such a way as

to give any idea of its composition. But when we come to 馬遠 Ma Yüan of the 12th and 13th centuries, famous among the Japanese as Ba-yen, we have the very description we require, preserved for us in the 齊東野語 *Ch'i tung yeh yü* by 周密 Chou Mi,—an almost contemporary record. There we read that

Lao Tzŭ, with a yellow face, 跏趺中坐 was sitting cross-legged in the middle; Buddha was 儼立於傍 standing in a dignified attitude at his side; and Confucius 作禮於前 was making a salutation in front.

Of course it is only a guess that the picture which has given rise to all this discussion has anything to do with the Three Religions. There is nothing whatever outside the picture, beyond the cackle of ignorant natives, which offers any clue of any kind to its subject and interpretation, save and except the decisive legend 函三爲一, which I think has been shown conclusively to mean "Three in One," in the sense, and in that alone, of the Trinne God of Christianity.

ECHOES OF ORPHEUS.

One of the nine Ministers of the Emperor Shun, of legendary memory, was the Grand Music-Master 夔 K'uei. His name is mentioned in the Book of History, a collection of very early records embracing a period which extends from the middle of the 24th century B.C. down to B.C. 721, and said to have been edited by Confucius from then existing documents which came into his hands. In the third millennium before Christ, and for many centuries afterwards, music was believed by the Chinese to possess a civilising influence equal to that expressed by Congreve in his famous line,

Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast,

and it occupied in practice among the ancient Chinese very much the place assigned to it by Plato in his theoretical republic. For instance, the philosopher Mencius, B.C. 372—289, (Bk. I, Pt. 2) told the King of the Ch'i State that if the latter's love of music were really profound, his administration would be almost perfect. The King modestly replied that he could not appreciate the music of ancient times, but only that in vogue at his own date; to which Mencius retorted that the one was quite as effective as the other for the purpose in question.

The older music referred to by the King was that same music which on one occasion so affected Confucius that for three months he knew not the taste of meat. Yet in spite of what must have been its great beauty, it faded gradually out of existence, and by the 2nd century B.C. was altogether a lost art.

The Grand Music-Master at his installation was solemnly addressed by the Emperor Shun on the exercise of his important functions. He was instructed so to influence the rising generation that the upright might also be tolerant, the liberal-minded dignified, the strong not tyrannical, and those in authority not arrogant. Thus, concluded the great Emperor,

神人以和 Gods and men will be brought into harmony.

To this speech the Grand Music-Master made the following extraordinary and very inapposite answer:

於予擊石拊石百獸率舞 Yes, I strike the musical-stone *forte*, I tap it *piano*, and all animals begin to dance.

It may be noticed here that the Emperor had just been appointing various other high officers, and that none of them made any answer of the kind, though several asked to be excused.

The commentary does not throw much light on the passage. After explaining that *chi* is "to hit hard" and *fu* "to hit softly," we read

人神易感鳥獸難感、百獸相率而舞則神人和可知也 Men and Gods are easy to influence, birds and beasts are hard to influence; and the fact that all animals began to dance shows clearly that Gods and men were in harmony.

Dr. Legge, in his note to this passage, says,

There can be no doubt the reply of K'uei is out of place here,—appears here in fact from some displacement of the ancient tablets.

But it also appears somewhere else in the *Book of History* (益稷), in connection with a choral service performed in memory of deceased ancestors of the Imperial House, whose spirits are attracted to the spot by the influence of the music. The Grand Music-Master is explaining how the orchestral effects of flutes, drums, organs, bells, etc., are produced, when all of a sudden he says,

鳥獸蹠蹠 birds and beasts begin to dance;

and in the following paragraph he repeats verbatim the sentence from the *Canon of Shun* which we have already examined, followed by

庶尹允諧 and all the high officials become truly in harmony.

The Chinese commentary refers the reader back to the luminous exegesis already quoted; and Dr. Legge adds,

I said the passage was out of place there. It would almost seem to be the same here, though the concluding clause (of above four characters) adds a particular point to the effects of music, not mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

As a matter of fact, the text would read much better and yield a more continuous sense if these passages about the birds and beasts were omitted altogether. They have clearly been interpolated in the text, at what date it is impossible to say; but subsequent to the middle of the 2nd century B.C., when echoes of Greek mythology from the Graeco-Bactrian province, together with Greek music, had already begun to reach China overland.

THE WEAK WATER (see p. 16).

Very shortly before his death, Sir Richard Jebb, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, was kind enough to point out to me a passage, not cited by Liddell and Scott, in which βαθύρροος plays an important part. In the Τραχινίαι of Sophocles (l. 556), βαθύρροος will be found as an epithet of the river Εὔηνος Evenus, formerly known as the Λυκόρμας Lycormas, and now as the Fidari; and the word was translated by Sir Richard Jebb "deep," the latter portion being, as he told me, unnecessary to the sense, and possibly nothing more than a help-out to the metre. Sir Richard Jebb further referred me to the "Geography of Greece," by the Rev. H. F. Tozer, who classes the Evenus among the "sudden and violent streams" of ancient Greece, and says on p. 90,

The older name of the Evenus in Ætolia was Lycormas, 'rushing like a wolf,' from λύκος δρμάω.

and again on p. 96,

The scene of the adventure of Hercules with the centaur Nessus is the Evenus, one of the fiercest and most treacherous torrents in Greece.

This would seem to be decisive against such a meaning as "sluggish," which fits in so well with the mysterious 弱水 *Jo shui* of the Chinese. There are, however, several points which must be taken into consideration before the case can be pronounced hopeless.

1.—Are very deep rivers ever torrential, or torrential rivers ever very deep? The Yangtsze Kiang and the Hoang Ho may be quoted as examples of the negative.

2.—The Rev. Mr. Tozer only claimed in his preface to have “travelled over most of Greece;” he does not say that he actually saw the Evenus, which he calls “one of the fiercest and most treacherous torrents in Greece.” He might well have deduced this view from the older name Lycormas, which he interprets “rushing like a wolf,” evidently meaning “in headlong course” to be understood.

3.—Do wolves usually rush in headlong course? I have referred this question to Professor Newton, who so kindly helped me with the phoenix (p. 9), and his opinion is that the attack of the wolf is rather characterised by stealthy and cautious approach, except perhaps when his prey is completely at his mercy. Even a pack of wolves can be kept off for a time by determined men; the wolves succeed ultimately, as Mazeppa tells us, by

Their long gallop which can tire
The hound's deep hate, the hunter's fire.

And that comparatively slow, but steady and sure, rate of progression is precisely what is wanted for a rational interpretation of *βαθύπποος* and *Jo shui*.

4 (suggested to me by Miss Rachel White, Classical Lecturer at Newnham).—Is Lycormas correctly derived from “rushing like a wolf?” May it not, with more probability, be simply some old local name, the exact meaning of which has been lost?

5.—There remains, of course, the question as to the real speed of the Evenus. It would no doubt be unfair to argue from the present state of the Fidari, bearing in mind the shock experienced by Lord Byron when he saw an old washerwoman damming up one of the most famous rivers of ancient Greece, in order to get enough water to wash her clouts.

China and Religion. By Edward Harper Parker, M.A. (Manc.),
Professor of Chinese at the Victoria University, Manchester.
London, John Murray. 1905.

This is a disappointing volume, with an attractive title. To begin with, it is mostly a *réchauffé* of a number of magazine articles on the religions of China, published at intervals during the past fifteen years. These articles are now enumerated and referred to by the author under his 'List of Authorities' on p. xi., which he says 'may be usefully consulted.' They may perhaps have passed muster, at the time of writing, in the not altogether leading magazines in which they appeared; but for the purposes of a book, to be regarded as authoritative for future students, they required a much more severe revision than they have actually received. Professor Parker seems to have made hardly any attempt to blend his articles into the form of a 'simple sketch,' as claimed in his Introduction, but to have been content to leave them almost in their original patchwork state, one curious result of which is that his present work rests for the most part upon 'authorities' of his own earlier creation—a truly novel illustration of what is known as arguing in a circle. Another result is that there are numerous repetitions, which would be more tolerable if the repetitions always agreed with one another. But they do not even do that. For instance, on p. 48, in his essay on Taoism, he states that works on '*Taoism*, Astrology and Medicine,' were the only ones exempted from destruction at the famous Burning of the Books in B.C. 213. This serious mistake is corrected on p. 68, in a repetition of the statement, where we read that 'works on medicine, divination, and *agriculture*' were spared; but of course the uninitiated reader is left in darkness as to which is really the correct version.

At the end of his book, Professor Parker reprints his translation of the spurious text known as the *Tao-têh King* or Taoist Classic, which has already been translated quite a dozen times by various hands, and which he now strives with vain effort to erect into a genuine document of the 6th or 7th century B.C. At one time, p. 38, he speaks of the 'hazy theories' of which this *Tao-têh King* is composed; on p. 47, this time in the same essay, he calls these theories 'noble abstractions.' Which of the two descriptions may be the more appropriate, the reader will be able to judge from Professor Parker's rendering of Chapter 6:—

'The spirit of the valley of space never dies, and this is what is called the progenetrix of neutral dissolution, and the connection of this dissolution progenetrix may be termed the root of heaven and earth. It extends into eternity like a preserver of life, and is inexhaustible in its uses.'

The reader is now in a position to appreciate the justice of Professor Parker's remark on p. 38, namely, that the alleged writer of the above quotation was 'an apostle of simplicity, and pleaded in season and out of season consistently for a return to Nature.'

On p. 287, where Professor Parker deals with a difficult passage in the *Tao-têh King*, he adds the following footnote:—

'This mysterious sentence, which permits the imagination to run riot in various fancies, would have been totally unintelligible to me had I not discovered from the Concordance that 淮南子 Vainancius (2nd cent. B.C.), quotes it *with the addition of the three words,* etc.

In reply to this claim, it is only necessary to say that such 'discovery' was made exactly twenty years ago, and that the point was fully discussed in the *China Review*, vol. xiv, p. 260. Further, in consequence of violating his own rule, as stated on p. ix, by trusting to a second-hand authority such as the Concordance, instead

of reading the works of Vainancius, which are open to all students of Taoism, Professor Parker has not only made a mess of his translation, but has also failed to 'discover' that the sentence in question is twice quoted in the original authority.

As an example of serious mistakes, the reader need not go beyond p. 60, where he will find these words:—'Mencius insists that the nature of man is evil, 曾子 Cincius that it is good, in its origin.' This makes one rub one's eyes: we are here faced with much the same difficulty as if some theologian were to tell us that St Paul was a Unitarian. For the keystone of Confucian philosophy is that man is born good, and Mencius, the Second Sage, spent his life in establishing on an imperishable basis this leading doctrine of his great predecessor, as Professor Parker will learn by consulting the works of Mencius, Book vi, Pt. i, in Dr. Legge's Chinese Classics, where a translation is furnished on the same page with the text.

Sometimes Professor Parker challenges the smiles of his readers, *e. g.*, on page 11—'just as with us, a man may be or try to be a convinced Christian gentleman, although occasionally he may take a drop too much, or yield to business frauds and feminine seductions.' On p. 219, when enumerating the more distinguished Protestant missionaries, we read: 'On the American side the versatile Dr. Lord, who also at one time acted as U.S. Consul, was sufficiently vigorous to outlast three wives. Unfortunately, he and his fourth wife—about forty years his junior—were carried off together by cholera in 1887.' This last story, if it need be told at all, might at least have been accurately told. Dr. Lord actually out-lived six wives; but what that has to do either with China or with Religion, passes comprehension, and the same may well be said of a Latin poem on the deathbed of Pope Leo XIII, with which the volume opens.

That his work has undergone but a poor revision, if any, may be gathered from a simple process of comparison. In the *Asiatic*

Quarterly for 1902, p. 380, speaking of the return of the Chinese Commissioners sent in the first century to India to enquire about Buddhism, Professor Parker wrote, 'They were accompanied by two Hindoos, named Kâs'yapa Mâtanga and (in unrecognisable Chinese dress) Chuh-fah-lan.' On p. 75 we now read, 'Two Hindoos, one of whom was named Kâs'yapa Mâtanga, accompanied the mission back.' After three years of revision Professor Parker ought to have been able to find out that 竺法蘭 Chuh-fah-lan, in quite recognisable Chinese dress, was the well-known Gobharana.

For his chapter on Nestorianism Professor Parker is so deeply indebted to 'La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan Fou,' by the late Père Havret, S.J., that it is difficult to find anything which is our author's own, save the translation (p. 121) of an Imperial decree referring to Christianity and printed for the first time, but left untranslated, by the learned Jesuit. The first sentence of this runs, according to Professor Parker, 道無常名, 聖無常體, 隨方設教, 密濟羣生 'Tao has no constant name, holiness no constant form; cults are established according to place, for the unobtrusive salvation of the masses.' It may be doubted whether the above too literal rendering, apart from the mistake of 'unobtrusive,' really conveys the full meaning of the Chinese text, which in a certain sense may be compared with Hebrews i.1. The following is suggested as an improvement: 'The TRUTH does not always appear under the same name, nor is divine inspiration always embodied in the same form. Religions vary in various lands; but the underlying principle of all is the salvation of mankind,'—a very remarkable admission by a Chinese Emperor of the 7th century, that there is 'truth' outside Confucianism, and that there are other prophets besides Confucius.

Professor Parker's twenty odd pages on Shintoism, the religion of Japan, appear to be of comparatively recent construction. It is

indeed charitable to hope that they were written prior to the publication by Professor Michel Revon of vol. i. (pp. 229) of his great work 'Le Shintoïsme,' which has been for some months in the hands of students, but which is not so much as mentioned by name in Professor Parker's book. This is the more to be regretted, as the conclusions of Professor Parker's sketch are not borne out by a perusal of Professor Revon's first volume.

Finally, twelve full-page illustrations are inserted in 'China and Religion.' Three of these refer exclusively to Japan, two to Burmah, and one to Korea. Two others are pictures of Jesuit priests; another is the 'Ju-i,' which had nothing on earth to do, originally, with religion, and is wrongly described as 'A symbol of rule adopted from Buddhism,'—a mistake which has been several times exposed, but seems to die hard. Another is of a temple erected to the memory of Chinese killed during the bombardment at Pagoda Island; another is of the Nestorian Tablet; and the last is of a *Stûpa* in Peking, which has been reproduced over and over again.

It only remains to say that if books like this one, on an important subject, are offered to the reading public, we cannot be astonished at Professor Parker's pathetic cry on p. 1 of his Introduction:—'I have long since found my stock-in-trade a drug upon the market, and have had to get many of the papers bound up in manuscript for the convenience of my own reference.'

Cambridge Review.

By the same Author:

- A Chinese-English Dictionary*, ryl 4to, pp. XLVI and 1415
Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio, 2 vols. cr. 8vo.
Gems of Chinese Literature
Historic China and other Sketches
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MOSES

And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to wash herself at the river; and her maidens walked along by the river's side; and when she saw the ark among the flags, she sent her maid to fetch it. And when she had opened it, she saw the child: and, behold, the babe wept. And she called his name Moses: and she said, Because I drew him out of the water. *Exodus*, ch. 2, vv. 5, 6, 10.

The 竹譜 *Chu p'u*, by 戴凱之 *Tai K'ai-chih* of the 晉 *Chin* dynasty, A.D. 265—419, has the following story:—

A girl, who was bathing in the river 勝 *Shêng*, saw a section of bamboo come floating along with the stream. When it neared her, she pushed it away; but it came back again, and then, hearing a sound from within, she took the bamboo and carried it home. On opening it, she discovered a little boy, who, on growing to man's estate, adopted Bamboo as his surname, and afterwards rose to be 王 *Wang* ruler of the State.

The 誠齋雜記 *Ch'êng chai tsa chi* (? author and date) says:—

It was under the reign of Wu Ti of the Han dynasty (B.C. 140—86), that 竹王 *King Bamboo* arose from the river 豚 *T'un*. A girl, who was bathing from the bank, found that a three-section piece of large bamboo had floated between her legs. She was trying to push it away, when hearing a sound, she caught hold of the bamboo, and carried it home. On breaking it open, she discovered a boy, who grew up to be very strong, and adopted Bamboo as his surname. The broken receptacle grew into a grove of bamboo, known as 王詞 *King's-Words*. This king was once resting with his attendants on a large rock, and called for soup, but there was no water to make it; whereupon he struck the rock with his sword, and water gushed out.

The 三才圖會 *San ts'ai t'u hui*, by 王圻 *Wang Ch'i* of the 16th century, has the following story:—

The country of 默伽 *Mo-ka* was formerly an uninhabited wilderness; and there, the Tajik patriarch 蒲羅吽 *P'u lo hou*, who had been

of strange appearance since his youth, had a son born to him by the wife whom he had married on reaching manhood. No water being at hand to wash the child, the mother laid it on the ground, and went in search of some. She was unsuccessful; but on returning, she found that her child

默
伽
國



had scratched the ground with his foot, and that a deliciously clear spring was bubbling up. The child received the name of 司麻烟 *Ssü ma yen*, and a well-wall was built around the spring, which never fails even

in time of drought. Stormy waves at sea may always be stille by pouring some of this water upon them.

The above three extracts seem to suggest some knowledge of the story of Moses. It has been said that the Jews carried the Pentateuch to China shortly after the Babylonish captivity, and founded a colony in Houan in A.D. 72. Three inscriptions on stone tablets are still extant, dated 1489, 1512, and 1663, respectively. The first says that the Jews reached China under the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1163); the second, during the Han dynasty (A.D. 25 – 206); and the third, during the Chou dynasty (11th to 3rd century B.C.). The illustration is not known to be older than the 16th century.

LAO TZŪ AND THE *TAO TÊ CHING*.

言 者 不 知 知 者 默
此 語 吾 聞 於 老 君
若 道 老 君 是 知 者
緣 何 自 著 五 千 文

"Those who speak do not know, those who know are silent."

These words I have learned from Lao Tzŭ;

But if you say Lao Tzŭ was one who knew,

Why did he himself write five thousand words?

Po Chŭ-i, A.D. 772—846.

The time seems to have come round when it is desirable to recapitulate the arguments against the genuineness of the *道德經* *Tao Tê Ching*. It was so far back as 1886 that I published in the *China Review*, vol. xiv, p. 231, *The Remains of Lao Tzŭ*, an article of considerable length, dealing with some of the then-existing translations of the book, and also with the evidence which was said to justify its acceptance as a classic of the 6th century before Christ. Up to that date, the *Tao Tê Ching*, after very insufficient examination, had been regarded by all foreign scholars, from the great Julien onwards, as unquestionably the work of the famous Lao Tzŭ, a philosopher who flourished no one can say exactly when, since there is no record whatever either of his birth or of his death. My conclusions were (1) that the *Tao Tê Ching* was a forgery, in the sense that although many sayings, such as could only emanate from a real "prophet," were embodied therein, the setting of these was an unintelligible gibberish which properly belonged to a much later development of Taoism; and (2) that the published translations of the genuine sayings were more or less misleading, if not abso-

lutely faulty. My position was of course violently assailed, as new positions should always be, if only to see that they will stand the shock.

Dr. Chalmers, who had translated the work, declined at first to make any reply; then he yielded to the attractions of battle, and denounced me in no measured terms. Finally,—months later,—I was interested to hear the following words read from a private letter of his:—"The *Tao Tê Ching* must be given up." Years later,—not long before the old lion of sinology passed to his well-earned rest,—we discussed the question amicably in Aberdeen, and he confirmed his previous statement above-quoted, and pointed out that he had ceased to write in opposition.

Dr. Legge, who, in an article published in the *British Quarterly Review* for July 1883, had called the *Tao Tê Ching* a κτῆμα ἐς αἰτί, stuck to his text through a long and sometimes acrimonious controversy; and although I became very intimate with him during his last years at Oxford, I cannot say that he ever openly admitted a change of opinion. Something else he did indeed change, which was sorely in need of it; and that was his translation, which afterwards appeared in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 39. In simple justice to myself, I have placed side by side, for convenience of comparison, a single example of what I mean. The student will find many such.

CHAPTER 49.

善者吾善之不善者吾亦善之德善

Dr. Legge, 1883.

The sage ruler accepts the good as good, and accepts as good also those who are not good; and (all thus) get to be good.

My version, 1886.

To the good I would be good. To the not-good I would also be good, in order to make them good.

Dr. Legge, 1891.

To those who are good (to me) I am good; and to those who are not good (to me), I am also good;—and (all thus) get to be good.

The method adopted in the preparation of the *Remains of Lao*

Tzŭ was an extremely simple one; so simple, perhaps, that no one had ever thought of applying it to the *Tao Tê Ching* before. It occurred to me to search through the early Taoist writers, and see what they had to say, if anything, on the subject of the so-called "classic." This search was amply rewarded. Throughout the works of Chuang Tzŭ, Han Fei Tzŭ, Huai-nan Tzŭ, and others, occurred a great many isolated sayings by Lao Tzŭ, now found in the *Tao Tê Ching*, and also a great many others which are not so found. These were often dealt with in those writers in such a way that the meaning, which had frequently puzzled Julien, Chalmers, and Legge, was placed beyond reasonable doubt; while the total absence of allusion to any *book* from which they were taken, led me to believe that within a century or two after the Burning of the Books, B.C. 213, in an age when forgery of the kind was rife, some ingenious person may have picked out a number of such sayings and have worked them into a volume which would pass muster as the work of Lao Tzŭ himself, and do duty as the "classic" or Bible of a then growing doctrine. This hypothesis seemed to me, and now seems more than ever, confirmed by the chain of evidence which I propose to set once more before the reader.

For the purposes of this argument, we will assume that Lao Tzŭ flourished in the 6th century B.C., having been born in 604, according to the popular calculation; also, that he wrote a book, now known as the *Tao Tê Ching*.

1.—Confucius, B.C. 551—479, is said to have paid at least one visit to Lao Tzŭ in order 問禮 to ask about ceremonial observances. Interviews between the two are first mentioned by Chuang Tzŭ, 3rd and 4th centuries B.C., in chapters or passages which are condemned by the best Chinese critics as spurious or interpolated, respectively; while other critics, who do not admit 604 as the date

of birth, show that these interviews would involve an anachronism, and cannot possibly have taken place. One writer makes merry over the idea that Confucius should have gone to study ceremonial observances from a teacher who said (ch. 38),

禮者忠信之薄也而亂之首也

Ceremonies are but the veneer of loyalty and good faith, while oft-times the source of trouble.

But most important of all is the fact, inexplicable if Confucius had met Lao Tzŭ and had read his *Tao Tê Ching*, that in all the canonical record of his life and teachings Confucius never once alludes either to Lao Tzŭ or to his book. An attempt has indeed been made to rectify this damning omission, but with indifferent success. Ch. 7 of the 論語 *Lun Yŭ* or Confucian Analects opens with these words,

子曰述而不作信而好古竊比於我老彭

This was rendered by Dr. Legge,

The Master said, A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients, I venture to compare myself with our old P'ang.

This "old P'ang" is generally regarded by Chinese commentators, including Chu Hsi, as P'êng Tsu, the legendary Methusaleh of China, of whom nothing is really known, and who certainly did not leave a book behind him. But the sentence gave a chance to the Taoists, and there were not wanting scholars who declared that 老 *Lao* "old" stood for Lao Tzŭ, and 彭 "P'êng" for P'êng Tsu. This view was adopted by the well-known 楊時 *Yang Shih*, A.D. 1053—1135 (see the 丹鉛總錄), but with a conclusion to his argument which caused the pious Taoist to cry "*Non tali auxilio*;" for Yang wound up by saying,

老子述而不作此其明證也

It is thus clear that Lao Tzŭ transmitted, but did not make—the *Tao Tê Ching* understood.

2.—左邱明 Tso-ch'iu Ming, who wrote the extensive commentary, known as the 左傳 *Tso chuan*, on the Annals of the Lu State, which covers the period from B.C. 722 to 484, never once mentions either Lao Tzŭ or his book.

3.—The philosopher known as 文子 Wên Tzŭ, is said to have been a personal disciple of Lao Tzŭ. In the *Remains* attributed to him, we find recorded sayings of his Master—which by the way are not in the *Tao Tê Ching*,—but he never mentions the existence or preparation of any book. *E. g.*

老子曰天下是非無所定世

Lao Tzŭ said, Right and wrong have been differently understood in different ages,

which reads like an anticipatory blow at Kant's categorical imperative.

4.—The philosopher 官子 Kuan Tzŭ, of the 5th century B.C., never mentions either Lao Tzŭ or his book.

5.—孟子 Mencius, who lived from B.C. 372 to 289, practically spent his life in denouncing all heresies likely to interfere with the pure flow of Confucianism, as for instance the heterodox schools of 楊朱 Yang Chu and 墨翟 Mo Ti, which he is considered to have effectually "snuffed out." In the full record of his teachings which has come down to us, there is not a single word of reference either to Lao Tzŭ or to his book.

6.—The philosopher 荀况 Hsün K'uang, also known as 荀卿 Hsün Ch'ing, who was attacked by Mencius for maintaining that man's nature is evil, took no notice in all his writings either of Lao Tzŭ or of his book.

7.—Neither did the above-mentioned philosopher Mo Ti, whose doctrine of extreme altruism brought upon him the censure of Mencius.

8.—莊子 Chuang Tzŭ, of the 4th century B.C., is the first great authority upon the doctrines which Lao Tzŭ taught.

He produced a work, illustrating the WAY of his great master, so rich in thought and so brilliant from a literary point of view that, although Lao Tzŭ's doctrines have long since been condemned, the work of the disciple remains, a storehouse of current quotation and a model of composition, for all time. To express what he meant by the WAY, Lao Tzŭ had adopted the common Chinese term for a road, viz: 道 *Tao*, just as ὁδός "way" is used in Greek for a method or system, and later for the Christian faith. He was, however, careful to explain that the eternal WAY was not the way which could be walked upon. These are now the opening words of the *Tao Tê Ching*, and have been otherwise translated, on the ground, defended by some native scholars, that *tao* also means "to speak." Quite recently a writer mentioned in the *Athenaeum* maintained this view, and in the so-called translation (*horresco referens!*) by Professor E. H. Parker in *China and Religion*, p. 271, we have

道可道非常道 The Providence which could be indicated by words would not be an all-embracing Providence,

not to mention the entirely unauthorised rendering of 常 by "all-embracing."

To begin with, the common use of 道 *tao* in the sense of "to speak" is comparatively modern, and this meaning is not given at all in the *Shuo Wên* (see *post*). It is thus used only twice in the Book of History, and once in the Odes. No important point, however, is involved, and the reader may take his choice between "The way on which you can walk is not the eternal WAY" and "The way on which you can talk is not the eternal WAY." The former appeals to me, chiefly as being more epigrammatic, and also because it would be more natural to divert the mind of a reader from the primary and well-known meaning of a word, than from an extended and less known meaning. Dr. Legge adopted the former interpretation; Chinese commentators, including Han Fei Tzŭ, seem to favour the

latter. It is also worth noting that in his chapter entitled 山木 "Mountain Trees," Chuang Tzū uses 塗 *t'u*, which can only be taken in the sense of "a road," as a synonym of *tao*. The actual words are 而況有大塗者乎, explained by the commentator 林西仲 Lin Hsi-chung as 況道德之有於心乎 "How much more those who have Tao and Tê in their hearts?"—the characters 大塗 *ta t'u* having been already explained as "= 大道 *ta tao*, the Great WAY."

Chuang Tzū, indeed, puts into the mouth of Lao Tzū sayings which are now found in the *Tao Tê Ching*, mixed up with a great many other similar sayings which are not to be found there. But he also puts sayings, which now appear in the *Tao Tê Ching*, into the mouth of Confucius! And even into the mouth of the Yellow Emperor, whose date is some twenty centuries earlier than that of Lao Tzū himself! In fact, for many centuries before and even after the probable date of the *Tao Tê Ching*, we find 黃老 Yellow (Emperor and) Lao (Tzū) in common use for Taoist traditions or writings. Thus we have

李白晚好黃老 Li Po (the poet, A.D. 705—762) in late life was fond of Taoist doctrines.

It may here be mentioned that Chinese literature possesses the works of a philosopher named 列子 Lieh Tzū, who is said to have flourished before Chuang Tzū. Lieh Tzū, however, has long been universally recognised by native scholars to be nothing more than an imaginary personage, and his book to be a forgery of a later age, based perhaps, like the *Tao Tê Ching*, upon actual traditions of Lao Tzū. Professor Parker, *China and Religion*, pp. 46, 47, still chooses to regard Lieh Tzū as a real personage and his so-called works as authentic documents, and thus impales himself upon one horn of a dilemma. For in the very first section of Lieh Tzū's work we are told that what is now chapter vi of the *Tao Tê Ching*,

was in reality written by the Yellow Emperor, B.C. 2698—2598.

Meanwhile, we are somewhat losing sight of the chief point which it is here intended to emphasise; namely, that throughout the writings of Chuang Tzŭ, who may be regarded as the St. Paul of Taoism, there is absolutely no allusion to even the mere existence of any book by the Master.

9.—The third century B.C. produced a philosopher, known as 韓非子 Han Fei Tzŭ, whose literary remains consist of fifty-five essays on speculative subjects. Two of these are wholly given up to explaining and to illustrating a number of short sayings attributed by the writer to Lao Tzŭ, most of which are now to be found in the *Tao Tê Ching*; but there are many others not to be found there, although why they should have been excluded, it is quite impossible to say. In two places, once where he is dealing with a saying from what is now chapter 59 of the *Tao Tê Ching*, and similarly with regard to chapter 77, Han Fei Tzŭ seems as though he were consulting a written document, as opposed to tradition which plays generally such a prominent part. It is quite plain, however, that such a book, if there was one,—and that possibility is not denied,—cannot have been the modern *Tao Tê Ching*; for the latter work actually contains portions of Han Fei Tzŭ's two chapters. One would naturally expect that if the writer had had the *Tao Tê Ching* before him, he would have begun at the beginning, and have ended at the end. No such sequence, however, is to be found in Han Fei Tzŭ. He takes his sayings at random, beginning with chapter 38, then on to chapters 12, 58, 59, 60, 46, 14, 1, 50, 67, 53, 54, now back to 46, 54, etc., and finally ending with chapter 27. What may be the explanation of this, I am not prepared to say; it certainly does not make for the genuineness of the *Tao Tê Ching*.

10.—We now come to 尹文子 Yin Wen Tzŭ, who is a little later in date, and is the reputed author of the 尹學 *Yin hsüeh*.

He quotes two sayings by Lao Tzŭ, which are now found in the *Tao Tê Ching*, but he does not mention a book. These sayings are both prefaced by the usual 老子曰 "Lao Tzŭ said," and both differ textually from those in the *Tao Tê Ching*.

11.—To the 3rd century B.C. is assigned the 呂氏春秋 *Lŭ shih ch'un ch'iu*, which contains much varied information, a great deal about *Tao* and *Tê*, and an occasional reference to Lao Tzŭ, but no mention of a book. The following is an extract from an essay on 貴公 the importance of public-spiritedness:—

A man of the 荆 Ching State who had lost a bow, was unwilling to search for it. A man of Ching lost it, he argued, and a man of Ching will find it; why should I search? When Confucius heard this, he said, Leave out "of Ching," and the principle is correct (meaning that so long as some man got it, he need not necessarily be of Ching). When Lao Tzŭ heard this, he said, Leave out "a man of," and the principle is correct (meaning that if the State got it, there was no necessity for a man). This shows that Lao Tzŭ was truly public-spirited.

12.—In B.C. 213, occurred what is known as the Burning of the Books. The "First Emperor" decided, on the advice of his Minister 李斯 Li Ssŭ, to get rid of all existing literature, as being a hindrance to progress, and to make a fresh start from his own date. Accordingly, an edict was issued calling for the destruction by fire of all the State histories, except that of his own State, now part of the Empire, and of all other writings except those relating to medicine, divination, and agriculture, again with an exception in favour of copies in the hands of certain officials. The punishment for disobedience was penal servitude, and there is no doubt that there was a great holocaust, although its extent may have been exaggerated. In addition to his serious mistake in this connection (see *ante*, p. 50), Professor Parker (*op. cit.* p. 68) has what I can only characterise as the audacity to add that amongst the books spared was

the *Book of Changes*: that the Taoist classic fell within the shadow of the *Book of Changes* is almost certain; for the First Emperor was under Taoist influence, and the classic never needed rediscovery; it never was lost.

Such statements are most unfair to the general reading public; it only remains to say that there is absolutely no authority for this assertion, either with regard to the *Book of Changes* or to the *Tao Tê Ching*. An opinion has indeed been expressed that the *Book of Changes* may have escaped in this way; but opinions are not facts. As to the *Tao Tê Ching*, the Taoist fraternity would naturally jump (with Professor Parker) at any chance of the kind. Dr. Legge, indeed, thought that the extent to which the destruction of literature was carried by the Burning of the Books had been rather exaggerated. The following hitherto unnoticed quotation, however, from the biography of Ts'ui Hao (see *post*), will show that in the 5th cent. A.D. the loss was considered to be a very real one:—

自秦始皇燒書之後經典絕滅

Ever since the First Emperor burnt the books, classical literature has altogether disappeared.

The writer goes on to say, what is also very important in this connection, that ever since the accession of the founder of the Han dynasty, B.C. 206, 妄造 forgery of books had been a common practice.

13.—The scholar and statesman 賈誼 Chia I, who died about B.C. 165, and left among other writings a collection of essays known as the 新書 *Hsin shu*, quotes a saying by Lao Tzŭ, which now appears in chapter 64 of the *Tao Tê Ching*, with the usual introduction 老子曰 "Lao Tzŭ said." Dr. Legge tried to show that such words were equivalent to "It is said in the *Tao Tê Ching*;" but this is special pleading, and he counted without the large number of sayings by Lao Tzŭ which also have these introductory words, and are not to be found in the *Tao Tê Ching*. On the

assumption that the *Tao Tê Ching* was compiled from sayings by Lao Tzŭ found scattered through the works of early writers, all difficulty disappears.

14.—The philosopher known as 淮南子 Huai-nan Tzŭ died in B.C. 122. He devotes one long essay to illustrations of the doctrines of Lao Tzŭ. He quotes intelligible sayings by Lao Tzŭ, which have been incorporated in the *Tao Tê Ching*, sometimes with the addition of other characters in such a way as to make them unintelligible. A notable example of this occurs in chapter 27. From first to last, Huai-nan Tzŭ never mentions a book.

It is convenient to add here that I do not take notice of the 禮記 Book of Rites. Native scholars of repute do not consider that the Lao Tan there mentioned is the Lao Tzŭ with whom we are now concerned.

15.—Finally, we come to the historian 司馬遷 Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien; circa B.C. 145—80, out of whose writings so much capital has been made. Among the biographical notices attached to his history, there is one of Lao Tzŭ. The first portion of this has appeared several times in translation; but not the second. For some unexplained reason, Julien, in his *Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu*, Paris, 1842, pp. xx, xxi, stopped half way; and by a most extraordinary coincidence, all later translators, e.g. Dr. P. Carus in his somewhat amusing work on the *Tao Tê Ching*, Chicago, 1898, have also stopped half way. After missing a most important paragraph, Julien indeed went on; but no one else has gone on with him. What we find in Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's work runs as follows:—

Lao Tzŭ was a man of the 曲仁 Ch'ü-jen alley in the hamlet of 厲 Li in the 縣 district of 苦 K'u in the State of 楚 Ch'u.

The *ex post facto* character of Ch'ü-jen is worth noting, considering Lao Tzŭ's traditional antagonism to jen charity of heart (see Chuang Tzŭ, 天運). Also, the division of the empire into "districts" belongs to a much later date; such a meaning is not even mentioned in the *Shuo wên*.

His surname was 李 Li, his personal name was 耳 Erh, his style was 伯陽 Po-yang, and his posthumous name was 聃 Tan.

Dr. Carus translates Po-yang by "Prince Positive!" He does not seem to know that as a title, Po must follow the surname. The commentary throws doubt on all the above; and one critic says that *Tan*, which refers to the shape of Lao Tzŭ's ears, 似不得爲謚 "is not at all like a posthumous name."

He was a keeper of the archives in the Chou State.

The title here rendered "keeper of the archives" is 守藏室之史, which has been shown to be an anachronism as applied to Lao Tzŭ.

When Confucius went to Chou, he enquired of Lao Tzŭ concerning 禮 ceremonies (see *ante*). Sir, said Lao Tzŭ, as to what you speak about, the persons have already rotted with their bones; only their words remain.

There is the same awkwardness in the original.

Besides, if a 君子 good man gets his chance, he rides in a chariot; if not, he becomes a mere waif and stray.

Other interpretations are given, but the gist is the same.

I have heard that the clever merchant keeps his stock out of sight, as though he had none; and that the man of abundant virtue looks as though he were stupid.

This sentence is quoted by 嵇康 Hsi K'ang, A.D. 223—262, with the insertion of the two characters 外形 in the first half, thus restoring the balance of the text.

Get rid of your pride, your many desires, your present bearing, and your vicious aims. These will not benefit you at all. Beyond this, I have nothing more to say.

Chuang Tzŭ has several interpolated interviews between Lao Tzŭ and Confucius, all different from this one.

Confucius went away, and said to his disciples, I understaud how birds can fly, how fishes can swim, and how animals can run;—

for those which run there are nets, for those which swim there are lines, and for those which fly there are arrows;—but as to the dragon I do not understand how it rides on the wind and clouds, and rises to heaven. Today I have seen Lao Tzŭ; he is like the dragon.

In his cultivation of Tao and Tê, Lao Tzŭ made self-effacement and absence of reputation his chief aims. After a long residence in Chou, he saw that the State was decaying; so he departed, and reached the frontier-pass.

Commentators fight over the identification of this pass. It has also been pointed out by 焦竑 Chiao Hung, A.D. 1541–1620, that the decay of Chou belongs to the reign of 敬王 King Ching, B.C. 519–475, whereas the warden, now to be mentioned, served under 昭王 King Chao, B.C. 4052–4001.

The warden of the pass, Yin Hsi, said, Sir, as you are about to go into retirement, I earnestly beg that you will write a book for me.

The 神仙傳 *Shên hsien chuan*, by 葛洪 Ko Hung of the 4th cent. A.D., says 老子語之五千言喜退而書之 Lao Tzŭ spoke to him 5,000 words, and Hsi went away and wrote them down.

Thereupon, Lao Tzŭ wrote a book in two parts, on the meaning of Tao and Tê, containing five thousand and odd words, and departed.

This obviously means, what is not the case, that the first part of the *Tao Tê Ching* deals with Tao, and the second with Tê. Different editions of the book have contained 5748, 5722, 5630, 5683, and 5610 characters.

No one knows what became of him.

Yet, as 葉適 Yeh Shih, A.D. 1150–1223, points out in his scathing essay on Lao Tzŭ, the historian goes on to tell us how old he was at death. This is the point reached by previous translators.

Some say that Lao Lai Tzŭ was also a mau of Ch'u.

One of the 24 examples of filial piety, 6th cent. B.C. The commentator here says, 太史公疑老子或是老萊子 Ssü-ma Ch'ien suspects Lao Tzŭ to be Lao Lai Tzŭ.

He wrote a book in fifteen sections, in which he discusses the tenets of the Taoist school, and was contemporary with Confucius.

He is said to have lectured Confucius on right conduct.

Lao Tzŭ is said to have lived to over 160 years of age,—some say over 200,—in consequence of his cult of Tao and care for his health.

The phraseology here used is meant to indicate doubt on the part of the writer.

One hundred and twenty-nine years after the death of Confucius,

This is said to be a mistake for 119 years.

the Grand Augur of Chou, named 僂 Tan, had an interview with Duke 獻 Hsien of Ch'in, and said, Formerly, Ch'in and Chou were united, and then separated. After 500 years they again became united. Seventy years later the 霸王 Pa Wang appeared. Some say that this 僂 Tan was Lao Tzŭ, and others say not; no one knows who is right.

Here Julien's translation begins again.

Lao Tzŭ was a 君子 good (or perfect) man who lived in retirement. He had a son named 宗 Tsung, who was an officer in the 魏 Wei State, and was feoffed with 段干 Tuan-kan. Tsung's son was 注 Chu, Chu's son was 宮 Kung, and Kung's great-great-grandson was 假 Chia (or Hsia), who held office under the Emperor Wên Ti of the Han dynasty. Chia's son, 解 Hsieh, was Minister under 邛 Ang, Prince of 膠西 Chiao-hsi, and consequently settled in the 齊 Ch'i State. Those who study Lao Tzŭ abuse the Confucianists, who in their turn abuse Lao Tzŭ. The principles of the two not being the same, they have not the same aims. How can we say who is right? 李耳 Li Erh taught the attainment of transformation by Inaction, and of perfection by Repose. [Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien says, the Tao which Lao Tzŭ bequeathed is empty and unsubstantial, and its operation is bound up with Inaction; therefore the language used in his book is mysterious and difficult to understand.]

.....

Such is the famous authority, 太史公老子傳多疑詞
“packed with doubtful statements”, to which alone we can look, say

many Chinese critics, for any details, credible and otherwise, about Lao Tzŭ and the *Tao Tê Ching*. There is indeed another passage, where of course we should expect it, in the biography of Confucius, which tells us of the alleged visit to Lao Tzŭ. Lao Tzŭ, elsewhere mixed up with the Yellow Emperor, is here made to say something totally different from what we find in his own biography, but equally absurd. It has already been translated by Professor Chavannes in his *Mémoires Historiques*, vol. V, p. 300, and need not be reproduced. But the foot-note which it has drawn from the eminent French sinologue is quite worth quoting:—

De l'examen de ces divers témoignages il résulte que la réalité historique des entrevues de Confucius et de *Lao-tse* n'est point établie; cette tradition nous apparaît bien plutôt comme une invention des taoïstes, etc.

Professor Chavannes is here in complete accord with many native critics; *e. g.* with 羅璧 Lo Pi, A.D. 1234—1299, who asked very pertinently,

使孔子果師聃子思何不言之 If Confucius really took Lao Tzŭ as his teacher, how is it that K'ung Chi (his grandson, and author of the Doctrine of the Mean) does not say a word about it?

But if the interview between Confucius and Lao Tzŭ is to be incontinently given up, what becomes of the integrity of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's text?

In this connection, too, it is interesting to note that Professor E. H. Parker believes in these interviews (*China and Religion*, p. 45), in awkward antagonism to a writer whom he speaks of on p. ix of the same work as "the soundest of living sinologists."

16.—The historian 班固 Pan Ku, *d.* A.D. 92, states that the Emperor Wên Ti, *d.* B.C. 157, and the Empress

好黃老言 were fond of the words (not *book*) of the Yellow Emperor and of Lao Tzŭ; and that there was a personage named 河上公 Ho-shang Kung, who lived by the river in a rude hut, and taught the doctrines of Lao Tzŭ. The Emperor Wên Ti summoned him to Court,

but he did not appear; and so the Emperor went in person to Ho-shang and reprimanded him. Ho-shang Kung immediately 躡身空中 sprang up into the sky; at which the Emperor changed countenance, and took his leave. Ho-shang Kung then 作 made 老子章句四篇 *Lao Tzŭ, with chapters and sentences, in 4 parts*, and presented it to the Emperor. It discusses the essentials of 治身 selfgovernment and of 治國 government of the State.

We now seem to be within measurable distance of the *Tao Tê Ching*, for which the work here mentioned may very well have served as basis, if not actually the same book.

17.—About A.D. 120 died 許慎 Hsü Shên, maker of the famous dictionary, still in every-day use, known as the 說文 *Shuo wên*. It purports to be a collection, with short explanatory notes, of all the different characters discovered by its author in Chinese literature during his own lifetime; which characters amounted to 9353, exclusive of 1163 variants. There are several characters in the *Tao Tê Ching* not to be found in this dictionary, though it is inconceivable that Hsü Shên should not have had access to such a work, presuming it to be from the hand of Lao Tzŭ, and to have escaped the Burning of the Books.

18.—The internal evidence of the *Tao Tê Ching* against its own genuineness is simply overwhelming. The hypothesis that it was pieced together at a comparatively late date,—roughly speaking, during the Han dynasty,—from traditional sayings of Lao Tzŭ embalmed in such writers as Chuang Tzŭ, Han Fei Tzŭ, Huai-nan Tzŭ, and from other sources, is amply confirmed by a careful inspection of the text. We find in this brief “classic” sayings by Lao Tzŭ, misquoted from the original sources, to which we must go back in order to discover the true meaning (chapters 26, 47, and especially chapter 43, in reference to which Professor Parker made the famous “discovery” dealt with on p. 51 *ante*, which I had published just twenty years before). We find sayings evidently taken from the works

of certain writers, inasmuch as portions of the commentaries of these writers have actually slipped in, and now form an integral part of the *Tao Tê Ching* (chapters 7, 25). The *Tao Tê Ching* contains sayings, attributed to Lao Tzŭ, which early writers attribute to the mythical Yellow Emperor (chapter 48); while of a saying by Lao Tzŭ, dealt with in Huai-nan Tzŭ (so late as the 2nd century B.C.), one half is given in chapter 21, and the other half in chapter 62. Similarly, the *Tao Tê Ching* places in connection two sentences which are treated by Huai-nan Tzŭ in different parts of his work as though one had nothing to do with the other (chapter 9). A like faulty sequence is to be noted with regard to Han Fei Tzŭ and chapters 12 and 38. Repetitions—the last thing to be looked for in a short work—are common; *e. g.*, in chapters 3 and 64, 12 and 72, 4 and 56, where four commandments are quite unnecessarily repeated, etc. In chapter 27 there is a sentence of twenty-four characters, in regard to which Kō Hung, mentioned above, has left on record the damning phrase 古本無有 “Not in the old edition.” Other sentences appear to have been altered at random according to the fancy of the Taoist editor; 其不同者如此 “such are the discrepancies” of the *Tao Tê Ching*, says Ma Tuan-lin, who is by no means an unfriendly critic. Generally speaking, it may be said that those sayings in the *Tao Tê Ching*—and there are many—which can be traced, so far as tradition goes, back to Lao Tzŭ through their preservation in some early writer, though often difficult, are almost always intelligible; whereas the text which fills the intervening spaces, and which I take to be the padding of the forger, is invariably the reverse. See, for instance, chapter 6, as translated by Professor Parker on page 51 *ante*.

The conflicting character of many of Lao Tzŭ's statements was pointed out by 孫盛 Sun Shêng of the 4th cent. A.D.,—

其書往往矛盾 this book is often contradictory,

and also by the philosopher 稱頤 Ch'êng I, A.D. 1033–1107,

其言自不相入處如冰岸 these words are as antagonistic as ice and fire,

while 王安石 Wang An-shih, the famous Reformer, in regard to one of what Professor Parker (*op. cit.*, p. 47) calls the "noble abstractions" of Lao Tzŭ, says,

坐求其無之爲用也則近於愚矣

to sit down and hope to make use of what does not exist, is to be next door to a fool.

It was after considerable study of the *Tao Tê Ching*, and with most of the above facts staring me in the face, that I came in 1886 to the conclusion, published in *The Remains of Lao Tzŭ*, that this notorious work could not possibly have come from the hand of Lao Tzŭ; a conclusion which I now hold more strongly than ever. Other persons, however, see with other eyes; and Professor Parker, in the January number of the *Asiatic Quarterly*, 1906, has denounced in no measured terms what he is kind enough to call my "obsolete and cranky views," adding (p. 168) "which I believe have never been accepted by any sinologist of sound standing." Here Professor Parker gets himself into a second dilemma; for on page ix of *China and Religion* he writes, "I regard M. Chavannes as the soundest of living sinologists," and on page 19 of volume iii of the *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society*, M. Chavannes, now Professor at the Collège de France, writes:—

En réalité, le personnage de Lao-tse est une figure indéciſe qui ne nous apparaît qu'à travers des légendes sans consistance. Il est fort douteux, comme l'a bien montré M. Giles, que le fameux livre intitulé *Tao to king* soit son œuvre. Ce livre est bien plutôt un recueil d'aphorismes qui ont été réunis par quelque compilateur sous les Han postérieurs et attribués à Lao tse.

Finally, to bring this long-drawn agony to a close. In the *Asiatic Quarterly* of January 1905, p. 208, we have the following

further challenge from Professor Parker, to which especial attention should be paid:—

The present writer has never once, in perusing over 1,000 Chinese volumes of 2,000 years' history, come across one single Chinese hint that Lao-tsz's Classic has ever once been supposed by any Chinese to be unauthentic.

Again, in the *Asiatic Quarterly* for January, 1906, page 167, the challenge is repeated:—

So far as I have been able to ascertain, no Chinese historian or author of repute, at any date whatever, has ever suggested that the classic is in any degree spurious.

These wild remarks simply go to show that for Professor Parker the history of Taoism is a sealed book. He is in fact a mere beginner, as in the days when he gave to the world his immortal translation of 盜亦有道, which he found to be the equivalent of "There is honour among thieves!" This obvious conclusion is moreover obligingly verified by himself in his article on Taoism in the *Dublin Review* for July, 1903, p. 128, where he says that he "survived the nineteenth century" without either "seriously studying or superficially toying with Chinese philosophical literature." His apprenticeship, therefore, scarcely justifies quite such dogmatic statements, as indeed the following quotations will amply prove.

I have already alluded to Yang Shih's verdict that the *Tao Té Ching* could not possibly be from the hand of Lao Tzū, and to an essay by Yeh Shih in which the same conclusion is stated; let us now take two more from the dozens of great Chinese scholars who have denied the genuineness of the "classic." And as Professor Parker claims an especial acquaintance with history, the first example shall be from the biography of the scholar and statesman 崔浩 Ts'ui Hao, as given in the 魏書 History of the Wei dynasty, *chüan* 35. It is rendered all the more interesting by the fact that Ts'ui Hao died so far back as A.D. 450:—

催浩性不好老莊之書每讀不過數十行輒棄之曰此矯誣之說不近人情必非老子所作

Ts'ui Hao was not fond of the writings of Lao Tzŭ and Chuang Tzŭ. Whenever he read, he did not get through many pages before he threw the book aside and cried out, These wilful and false statements, altogether out of keeping with human nature, were certainly never made by Lao Tzŭ.

Ts'ui Hao seems to have accepted without question Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's story of Confucius seeking instruction in ceremonies from Lao Tzŭ, and was therefore, short of self-stultification, bound to discredit the genuineness of the *Tao Tê Ching*.

Again, 湛若水 Chan Jo-shui, whose style was 元明 Yüauming, was 91 in 1556, and must consequently, according to Chinese reckoning, have been born in 1466. He graduated as 進士 *chin shih*, passed through the Han-lin College, and rose to be President of the Board of War. He was a brilliant scholar, and his collected works were published in 1681 under the title of 甘泉文集 *Kan ch'üan wên chi*. Amongst these will be found an essay, in the form of a conversation, which is entitled 非老子 *Fei Lao Tzŭ* = "Not Lao Tzŭ." A questioner, named 蕭時中 Hsiao Shih-chung, probably a brother of the well-known 蕭一中 Hsiao I-chung who was born in 1517, pointed out to Chan that the *Tao Tê Ching* attacked 仁 charity and 義 duty towards one's neighbour, and asked,

此書果作於老聃之手 If this book was written by Lao Tzŭ, 則在孟子之前 which would make it anterior to Mencius, 而孟子必闢之矣然孟子未嘗見闢 how it was that Mencius, who would necessarily have denounced it, never did so denounce it?

The answer was,

可見老子在周時只是一個老實人其時此書人未僞作孟子從何闢

The fact is that Lao Tzŭ was merely a worthy man who lived under the Chou dynasty; and since at that date this book had not been forged, how could Mencius denounce it?

Chan adds,

其孟子未闢未有此書也 Mencius did not denounce it, because it was not in existence.

As to the "interviews with Confucius," we read in the same essay,

**夫子論語無一言及老子可知與老不相
遇後儒附會** In the *Analects* of Confucius, there is not a single word referring to Lao Tzŭ, from which we may know that the two never met. The story is an addition by later scholars.

Finally, Chan says,

吾非老子不是非老聃也乃非老子書也
My attack on Lao Tzŭ is not an attack on the *man*, but on the *book*.

THE FOUR CLASSES

士農工商

The following statement, by Baron Suyematsu to an interviewer, is not without interest;—

British Caste.—Since my last visit I seem to see the breaking down of your caste system. You British may not know it, but you have a caste system which is hardly equalled anywhere in Europe. The social distinctions between your classes are truly wonderful. At the same time, the harmony between the upper, middle, and lower classes, seems to be better preserved in England than anywhere. We place our people in four classes—soldiers, farmers, artisans, and traders. We place the artisan before the commercial man, believing that the man who makes a thing is greater than the man who barter with it. Here the classes are merging into each other, no doubt, due to improved education, at the same time it surprises one accustomed to the uniform system of education in Japan, to see so little unity about the British system.

London and China Telegraph, Jan. 1, 1906.

The italicised pronouns refer of course to the Japanese, who are however, here as elsewhere, mere borrowers from China. This division of the nation into four classes was known to the Chinese a thousand years before Christ, and is mentioned in the Book of History under 周官 the Officials of Chou. Baron Suyematsu does not even give the correct meaning, which is, Officials, Farmers, Artisans, and Traders. It is incorrect to translate 士 by "soldiers;" that is a later meaning. Thus, in the biographical notice of 王禹稱 Wang Yü-ch'êng, found in the 宋史 History of the Sung dynasty, we read:—古者惟有四民兵不在其數 *etc.*

In ancient times there were only four classes of the people; soldiers were not included. For in those days the tillers of the soil were themselves soldiers; but from the 秦 Ch'in dynasty onwards, the fighting men refused to perform agricultural duties, so that a new class grew up outside the four original classes.

In its earliest use, the word 士 referred especially to civilians; hence such general phraseology as 賢士國之寶 "a virtuous official is his country's jewel."

A little work recently published by the Chinese Maritime Customs, entitled 王財節畧 *Li ts'ai chieh lüeh*, states in its opening lines that the precedence of the four classes, as enumerated above, under which 商爲之殿 "the merchant is placed last," dates only from the reign of the first Emperor of the Han dynasty, who came to the throne in B.C. 206. It appears that certain merchants refused to supply grain for the use of the Imperial troops, and that the Emperor 是以設計以困辱 "designed this plan in order to spite them." This is probably one of the *ben trovato* stories which abound in Chinese popular literature. At any rate, the same classification will be found in the works of the philosopher 荀況 Hsün K'uang, who flourished in the 3rd century B.C. The account given in ch. 食貨志 of the History of the Han dynasty merely says that in order to punish merchants for their opposition to part of his fiscal policy, the Emperor above-mentioned, on the establishment of peace, 令賈人不得衣絲乘車 forbade the said merchants either to wear silk or to ride in chariots.

VENTRILOQUISM IN CHINA

During a prolonged stay in China I was never able to find out if the Chinese had discovered the art of ventriloquism, or even if there was any term in the language by which the idea could be expressed. No one seemed to know anything about this form of trickery; and, although of course it may easily have escaped me, I cannot recall any passage in *Notes and Queries*, *The China Review*, and similar repertoires, where any allusion to the matter has been made by any foreign writer on Chinese subjects. Lobscheid, in his egregious English-Chinese dictionary, where "demigod" appears as 半神, gives 腹言 as the equivalent; and Hartell, whose later dictionary is hardly an improvement, gives 肚言. Both of these mean "belly-words," and are purely foreign terms, based upon the old Greek belief that ventriloquism was actually produced from the belly (*Cf.* the post-classical *ἐγγαστριμυθία*; or *ἐγγαστριμυθία*). But all is said to come to him who waits; and recently I lighted upon such a reference in a most unexpected quarter.

In the *History of the* 晉 *Chin Dynasty*, ch. 五行志, there is a story of a man who was living under the 吳 *Wu* dynasty at the modern 湖州 *Hu-chou* in Chehkiang, and who,

after recovering from an attack of 困病 (?) lethargy, found that 能以響言 he could ventriloquise. 言以此而聞於彼 What he spoke here, could be heard over there; but those who stood near him could not hear his voice at all loud, whereas at a distance from him, the sound was exactly that of some one answering, though it did not appear

to come from a distance (but to be at the spot where it was heard). The sound always went in the direction towards which he turned, and even to so far as a mile or two away. This man used to imitate the voice of a neighbour, who had been away from home for a long time on business, and make him talk about his prospects, and so forth. He made the furniture, etc., appear to be possessed by spirits, and threw everything into confusion, declaring all the time that he did not know how he did it, and that it was a judgment on him.

The Shu King, or the Chinese Historical Classic. Translated from the ancient text, with a commentary, by Walter Gorn Old, M.R.A.S. (The Theosophical Publishing Society, London and Benares, 1904.)

There was ample room for a new English translation of the above work, with short notes, useful to the student, but designed chiefly for the benefit of the general reader. Nor was it by any means necessary that such a venture should be based on original research, or throw any new lights either on the difficult text or on its bewilderingly complex history. All that one had a right to expect was that it should be reasonably accurate, and embody in concise form the main results of Dr. Legge's Herculean labours. Unfortunately, Mr. Old's work is very far from fulfilling even these modest requirements. To begin with, we are calmly told in the preface that the author had no opportunity of consulting Dr. Legge's translation before his own was completed. One would think he was speaking of a casual publication issued in the previous week, not of a standard work that has been before the world since 1865! The reader, however, will "pay me a great compliment," he continues, "if he will take the Doctor's translation in hand and make a cross-reading from the present version." After a fairly careful examination of the "present version," we can but hope that no person values his time so little as to make either a cross-reading or any other sort of reading from it. Based on Medhurst's translation of 1846, which, though not a discreditable piece of work at the time, has now been so entirely superseded as to be worth intrinsically less than the paper it is printed on, Mr. Old's book was hardly likely to be noteworthy for sound and discriminating scholarship. But even

after his preliminary avowal we were not prepared for the amazing tissue of gross blunders, hoary mistranslations, and slovenliness of every description which confronts us in these pages.

Mr. Old has apparently constructed a new system of transliteration, which the uninitiated, however, might very easily mistake for a mere jumble of various other systems. Thus, 始皇帝 is "Che-hwang-ti" on p. v, and "Che-wang-ti" on p. x, whereas 君奭 is "Prince Shih." We have "Shing-nung" for 神農, and the monstrosity "Puon-kang," for 盤庚. On p. 240, "tse lin" is Mr. Old's attempt at transcribing 四鄰. One chapter is headed "The Instructions of E," while another is called "The Hound of Li." This last is an adaptation of Medhurst, who has "Le"; but the Chinese happens to be 旅, which is *lū* or *leu*. To such trifles as aspirates Mr. Old is serenely indifferent. Hence "Tai-kia" (also misprinted Tai-kai) for 太甲, "Kung" for 罔, "Chun Tsin" for 春秋. But even in error he is not consistent; for he has "Tang" on p. 75 and "T'ang" on p. 82, though the character in both cases is 湯. The blunder is faithfully repeated in the table of contents, and is the harder to explain, as even Medhurst shows the aspirate.

Turning now to the mistranslations, we find them in such exuberant plenty that it is positively hard to make a selection. Perhaps the best way will be to take only the worst out of a single short chapter, such as 罔命 "The Charge to Ch'iung."

P. 282. "In the midst of the night I rise up to consider how I may allay my agitation." The veriest tyro could tell Mr. Old that 免愆 means "to avoid faults," not "to allay agitation."

"When orders or commands were given, they were not disregarded." The latter half of this sentence is an extraordinary rendering of 罔有不臧—"they were without exception good."

P. 283. "Do not take those of voluble speech and commanding visage" for 無以巧言令色, would hardly sound plausible even

to one who had never read Bk. I, chap. 3 of the *Confucian Analects*, and was therefore unaware that 令色 means "insinuating looks."

"Do not associate with meddlesome men who will stop the ears and eyes of your officers, and induce superiors to falsify the statutes of former Kings." There are no fewer than four mistakes in this short sentence, of which the Chinese runs; 爾無昵于儉人充耳目之官迪上以非先王之典.

(1) 儉 is not correctly translated "meddlesome;" it corresponds rather to 巧言 above, meaning "artful-tongued."

(2) Mr. Old has rendered the second clause as though it were 充官之耳目. As it stands, the text must mean "fill the office" or "assume the function of eyes and ears."

(3) 上 refers to the Sovereign himself, and not to "superiors" in general.

(4) 非 is here obviously "set at naught," "violate," "disregard." There being no question of forgery in the case, "falsify" is devoid of any intelligible meaning.

It is generally admitted that a new translation of any work can only justify its existence if it contain a smaller percentage of error than those which have preceded it. Bearing this in mind, it is interesting to note that only one of these four blunders is taken over from Medhurst. For the other three Mr. Old appears to be solely responsible.

The next sentence, though perhaps less rich in "howlers," is so clumsily expressed that it is hard to decide whether or no the translator had a glimmering of the real meaning. 非人其吉惟貨其吉若時瘵厥官. "If you deny to men their good reputation and hold the wealthy in esteem, you will in course of time, etc., etc." I will content myself with pointing out that 人 and 貨 are here strongly opposed:—"If you set less store by the *man* than by the *bribes* he has to offer, etc." For the better understanding of

the rest of the paragraph we would earnestly advise Mr. Old to defer no longer his introduction to the writings of Dr. Legge.

In the concluding sentence, "by all means" but weakly expresses the exclamatory force of 嗚呼. "Be respectfully cautious" is stupidly copied from Medhurst, inasmuch as 欽哉 is simply "be reverent!" and has nothing whatever to do with "caution." "Be reverent!" Yes, that may fitly stand as a last word of warning to Mr. Old, lest perchance, emboldened by immunity, he be again tempted with unhallowed hand to distort and mangle the remains of a venerable Chinese classic.

LIONEL GILES.

By the same Author :

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FOOTBALL AND POLO IN CHINA¹

It was on the 9th of November, 1905, while watching the Cambridge University team make their splendid stand against the famous "All Blacks," that I began to wonder if any one would take an interest in, or even believe, the fact that football was played by the Chinese several centuries before Julius Caesar landed in Britain.

Some Chinese authors, indeed, have mixed up football with polo, though both games have been described separately, and with considerable detail, by more exact scholars. There is little or no excuse, moreover, for such a jumble, as the various characters used for football, 蹴, 踢, 踏, 踢, and 蹙, 一趯 and 策 are rare exceptions,—all contain the element *foot*, which naturally suggests kicking; whereas all those used for polo, 打, 拋, and 擊, contain the element *hand*, which is equally suggestive of striking. 蔡孚 Ts'ai Fu of the T'ang dynasty actually says,

打毬者往之蹴鞠古戲也 Ball-striking (polo) is the old game of ball-kicking (football).

Another writer, after a similar remark, adds,

蓋蹴擊一也 for kicking and striking are the same thing.

Of the two, football is by far the older game. Its invention has been ascribed, *cum omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, to the mythical Yellow Emperor of the third millennium B.C.

蹴鞠者傳言黃帝所作

¹ This note appeared, under a somewhat different form, in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1906.

Others assign its appearance to the age of the Warring States, 3rd and 4th centuries B.C., when it formed part of the military curriculum of the day, and was a means of training soldiers and of putting their powers to a test.

起戰國之時踢鞠兵勢也所以練武士知有材也

It is generally admitted to have been originally a military exercise, and a handbook on football, in twenty-five chapters, is said to have been in existence under the Han dynasty, say two thousand years ago.

漢兵家有蹴鞠二十五篇

The historian Ssü-ma Ch'ien, who died about B.C. 80, in his biographical notice of Su Ch'in of the 3rd century B.C., has the following passage:—

臨菑 Lin-tzū (capital of the Ch'i State) was very rich and powerful. There were none among its inhabitants who did not perform on the pipes, or on some stringed instrument, fight cocks, race dogs, dice, or play football.

Football, **蹴鞠** *ts'u chü*, is mentioned more than once in the History of the Han Dynasty, B.C. 206—A.D. 25; and the famous commentator Yen Shih-ku, who died in 645, provides the following note:—

Tsu is to kick with the foot; *chü*, the ball, is made of leather and stuffed, and is kicked about for amusement.

In one passage we are told how the great general Ho Ch'ü-ping, when campaigning in the north and almost destitute of provisions for his troops,

穿城踢鞠 hollowed out a place for them to play football in,—whatever that may mean.

In the **西京雜集** *Hsi ching tsa chi* we read,

The Emperor 成帝 Ch'êng Ti (B.C. 32—6), was fond of football; but his officers represented to him that it was both physically exhausting and also unsuitable to the Imperial dignity. His Majesty replied, We like playing; and what one chooses to do is not exhausting. An appeal was then made to the Empress, who suggested the game of 彈棋 tiddlywinks, or "squails," for the Emperor's amusement.

Towards the close of the Eastern Han dynasty (end of 2nd century A.D.), it appears from the 會稽典錄 *Kuei chi tien lu*, quoted in the 太平御覽 *T'ai ping yü lan*, that the Emperor made archery and riding his chief business, and 家以蹴鞠爲學 in his private life gave himself up to football, the result being that literary studies ceased to be cultivated as before. Even the Mirror of History does not disdain to record that the Emperor 僖宗 Hsi Tsung of the T'ang dynasty, who was almost wholly given up to sport of various kinds, of which football, cockfighting, and polo are especially mentioned, in the year 881 put to death a loyal Minister for venturing to remonstrate on the subject.

The ball, as originally used by the Chinese, was a round bag made of leather, or, as a poet tells us,

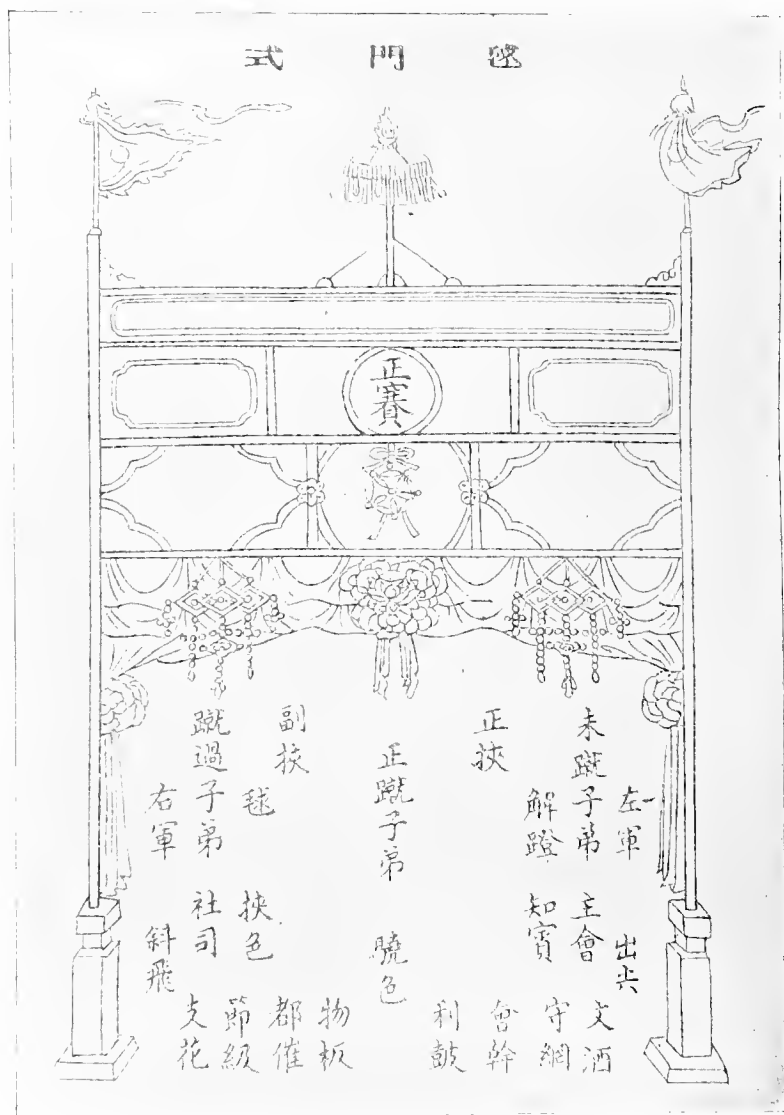
八片尖皮砌作毬

Eight pointed strips of leather made into a ball,

and was stuffed with hair; its roundness or otherwise does not seem to have been a matter of great importance. But from the 5th century onwards, 氣之爲毬 the ball was filled with air, and its name was changed to *ch'iu*, and roundness became an essential, because the ball was required "to 滾 roll as well as to 飛 fly through the air." One authority, already quoted, 汪雲程 Wang Yün-ch'êng, in the 陝西通志 Topography of Shensi, says that the air-ball dates only from the T'ang dynasty, and adds that

two long bamboos were set up, several tens of feet in height, and with a silken net stretched across, over which the ball had to be kicked. The players formed themselves into two parties, and the game was decided by points.

A writer who has dealt very fully with the game, and to whom we owe many of the following particulars, states as follows:—



To inflate a football seems easy, but is really difficult. The ball must not be very hard, or it will be too bouncy, and full force cannot be used in kicking. Neither must it be very flabby, or you will have an opposite

result, and the ball will not travel when kicked. It should be about nine-tenths full of air; this will be found to hit off the mean.

Several writers have left us accounts of actual games:—

On the Emperor's birthday, two teams played football before the Imperial pavilion. A goal was set up, of over thirty feet in height, adorned with gaily coloured silks, and having an opening of over a foot in diameter.

The object of each side appears to have been to kick the ball through the opening, the players taking it in turns to kick, points being scored accordingly. The winners

were rewarded with flowers, fruit, wine, and even silver bowls and brocades.

不勝者毬頭喫鞭 The captain of the losing side was flogged, and suffered other indignities!

In an illustration of a Chinese football goal, here given, the player who is kicking is placed in the middle, while on his right and left are seen the positions of those who have not, and those who have already kicked, respectively. Immediately behind the actual player stands the **驍色** *ch'iao sé*, whose function it appears to be to hand the ball to the captain during the progress of the game. There is also the **守網** net-keeper, who throws back the ball when it has failed to go through. The duties of the other attendants are not explained. The score consists of major and minor points, which are gained in particular ways; and there is a **錦語** regular terminology to be used by the players, such as *ace*, *deuce*, *tray*, etc., besides other phrases peculiar to the game. As regards play,

the body should be straight as a pencil; the hands should hang down, as though carrying things; there should be great elasticity of movement; and the feet should be as though jumping or skipping.

There are over seventy different kinds of kicks enumerated, besides endless over-elaboration in minor details. Kicking is forbidden under eleven separate conditions which constitute "fouls;" but no penalties seem to be attached; and all play is to be avoided in ten special

cases, such as on windy days, when the ground is slippery, after wine, by candlelight, etc.

Besides the game of kicking a ball through a hole in a goal,



the Chinese, to judge from the accompanying illustration, must have had some other form of play with foot and ball. This supposition

is borne out by several passages; *e. g.* in reference to a Taoist priest of the 16th century, who was a good player, we read,

He used shoulders, back, breast, and belly, to take the place of his feet; he could withstand several antagonists, making the ball run around his body without dropping.

Mr. R. Casson, of the I. C. S., kindly sends the following note:—"Don't you think that the kind of football he played was that which I see now going on in my compound, my Burmese boys in a ring keeping a ball in the air with foot, knee, shoulder, or anything handy? A good Burmese footballer can keep a ball rolling all over his body without letting it drop."

Then again, in an anonymous poetical account of a game, we have such sentences as,

毬不離足足不離毬 The ball was never away from the foot, nor the foot from the ball,—

in fact, "dribbling," which would be meaningless as applied to the game described above.

It only remains to add that the names of several great footballers have been handed down to posterity, as witness:—

王齊叟 Wang Ch'i-sou was a man of great talent; not one of the **九流** nine branches of learning¹ came amiss to him. In the *Hsüan ho* period (1119—1126) his reputation as a footballer was spread over the empire.

孔桂 K'ung Kuei, a descendant of Confucius, is said to have excelled at football; and there was also a man named **張芬** Chang Fên, who **常于福感寺趯鞠高及半塔** often, at the Fukan temple, would kick a ball half as high as the pagoda.

A poet, named **李尤** Li Yu, who flourished between A.D. 50 and 130, has left us an inscription which he wrote for a football ground:—

¹ These are enumerated as **儒, 道, 陰陽, 法, 名, 墨, 從橫, 雜, and 農.**

A round ball and a square wall,
 Suggesting the shapes of the *Yin* and the *Yang*;
 The ball flying across like the moon,
 While the two teams stand opposed.
 Captains are appointed, and take their places,
 According to unchanging regulations.
 No allowances are made for relationship;
 There must be no partialities.
 But there must be determination and coolness,
 Without the slightest irritation at failure.....
 And if all this is necessary for football,
 How much more so for the business of life!

Polo seems to have become known to the Chinese under the T'ang dynasty, or from about A.D. 600 onwards, when it was at first considered by some writers, as stated above, to be a revival of football,—though it was, no doubt, quite a separate game, learnt most probably by the Chinese from the conquered Tartars. The earliest mention of the game is by 沈佺期 *Shên Ch'üan-ch'i*, a poet who died in 713, and it was in reference to a game played before the Emperor and his Court in the year 710.

His Majesty, who was paying a visit to his famous Pear-Garden, had given orders that all officials *above* the third grade were to take part in the game; but certain eminent statesmen were worn-out and aged, the consequence being that they were tumbled over on to the ground, and remained there, unable to rise, to the great amusement of the Emperor, Empress, and Court ladies, who all shouted with laughter at the sight.

The son and heir of this precious monarch was the famous Emperor who ruled China from 712 to 756;—brilliantly in his earlier years, surrounding himself, as he did, with men of distinction in literature, science, and art; later on giving way to dissipation and extravagance, until rebellion drove him from the throne. Not content merely to watch polo, he used to play himself. A poet, 晁无咎 *Ch'ao Wu-chiu*, who lived two or three hundred years afterwards, has left us this verse on

THE EMPEROR MING HUANG PLAYING POLO

The thousand doors of the palace are open, when in broad daylight
 San Lang comes back, very drunk, from polo
 Ah! Chiu-ling¹ is old and Han Hsiu² is dead;
 Tomorrow there will be none to come forward with remonstrance.

Public opinion seems always to have been against the appearance of Emperors upon the polo-field, and many of the remonstrances of loyal statesmen have been preserved. Ma Tê-ch'ên, who died about 984, disgusted that his Majesty "played polo to excess," presented a long memorial on the subject, from which the following is an extract;—

Your servant has heard that when two of your Majesty's predecessors went out boar-hunting and hawking, and when their Ministers remonstrated with them, they joyfully followed the advice given. Now, your Majesty 以馬毬爲樂 takes delight in polo, and your foolish servant has found on reflection three reasons why this is not a fitting sport, and will state them even at the risk of the axe.

(1) When sovereign and subject play together, there must be contention. If the sovereign wins, the subject is ashamed; if the former loses, the latter exults. That is one reason.

(2) To jump on a horse and swing a club, galloping madly here and there, with no distinctions of rank, but only eager to be first and to win, is destructive of all ceremony between sovereign and subject. That is a second reason.

(3) To make light of the responsibilities of empire, just for an hour's enjoyment, and run even the remote risk of an accident, is to disregard obligations to the State and to her Imperial Majesty the Empress. That is the third reason.

If your Majesty does not deem my words of small matter, graciously bestow a glance thereon; for the happiness of the empire is what all your Majesty's servants desire.

When this memorial was handed in, we are told, "the Emperor sighed over its excellence for a long time."

Polo was, as it still is, a sufficiently dangerous game. In 901

¹ For 張九齡.

² 韓休.

an important statesman was killed; and about twenty years previously a general lost an eye. The latter had reached his high position entirely through his skill at football; and as a solatium for his lost eye, he was promoted to be President of the Board of Works. So that it was not without cause that the gifted consort of an Emperor, who died in 859 from an injudicious dose of the elixir of life, hearing that an official was teaching his Majesty to play polo, sent for him and said,

You are a subject, and it is your duty to aid the Emperor to walk in the right path. Can this be done by teaching him to play? 再有聞
必大杖汝矣 If I hear any more of this, I will have you well flogged.

In 1163, the reigning Emperor, who suppressed banqueting and encouraged athletics, had a very awkward accident. He had issued instructions for polo to be played regularly;

in the event of wind and rain, the ground was to be covered with a kind of oiled cloth well sprinkled with sand. His Ministers, because of the importance of the Imperial life, were unwilling that his Majesty should expose himself to danger, and handed in many memorials, to none of which any attention was paid. One day, the Emperor decided to join in the game; and after playing for a short time, he lost control of his pony. The animal bolted under a verandah, the eaves of which were very low; there was a crash, and the terror-stricken attendants crowded around to help. The pony had got through, and 上手擁楣垂 his Majesty was left hanging by his hands to the lintel. He was at once lowered to the ground; but there was no trace of alarm on his face, and pointing to the direction taken by the pony, he quietly gave orders for its recapture, at which the spectators cried out *Wan sui! Wan sui!*

The Kitan Tartars were great archers and polo-players, and we are told that their successors, the Nü-chên Tartars, carried on the tradition. On festival days, the whole Court would appear in full dress on the polo ground, and after worshipping God with offerings of food and wine and other ceremonies, the Emperor would change his dress for the various sports. There was archery to begin with; and

when that was over, there was a game of polo. The players mounted **所常習馬** well-trained ponies, and each one was provided with a **鞠杖** club, of a good many feet in length, and shaped at one end like the crescent moon. They were then divided into two teams, the object of contention to both sides being a ball. Previously, at the south end of the ground, two poles had been set up, with boarding in between, in which a hole had been cut, having a net attached to it in the form of a bag. That side which could strike the ball into the bag, were the winners. Some say that the two teams were ranged on opposite sides of the ground, each with its own goal, and that victory was gained by driving the ball through the enemy's goal. The ball itself was as small as a man's fist, made of a light but hard wood, and painted red.

Thus we read that when the young Duke of Lu was playing polo, and the ball fell into the hollow stump of a tree, his Grace poured in water and floated it out.

As regards ponies, it has already been stated that these animals were specially trained, and it may be added that in the year 951, a present of polo ponies, together with suits of clothes for the players, was conveyed by a Chinese envoy to the Court of the Kitan Tartars. Ponies, however, were not the only animals employed. We are told that the Prince of **定襄** Ting-hsiang, under the T'ang dynasty,

taught his ladies to play polo on donkey-back, providing them with inlaid saddles and jewelled bridles, together with the clothes and other paraphernalia required.

Elsewhere, we read that under the Sung dynasty

over a hundred young men dressed up as women, with bound feet and ornamental veils hanging down their backs, half of them in red and half in green brocaded robes, with elegant girdles and silken shoes, mounted on donkeys with carved saddles and ornamental trappings.

Then they divided into two sides under their respective captains, and played polo for the amusement of the Court. So great indeed was the enthusiasm for polo, that it was played even by night, the ground being illuminated by a huge display of candles. Extravagant

rewards were heaped upon polo-players, and also upon footballers, who were actually received in audience by admiring Emperors. In 881, when there was a question of certain official posts to be filled up, the Emperor caused the four candidates to play a polo tournament, and allotted the chief post to the winner. The climax is perhaps reached when a maker of polo-clubs, as duly recorded in the 錄異記 Book of Marvels, was taken up to heaven in broad daylight.

ON EXORCISM

The following is a translation, by Professor A. Forke of the Oriental School at Berlin, of chapter 44 of the 論衡 *Lun Hêng* of 王充 Wang Ch'ung, A.D. 27—97, and is intended as a specimen of a fuller version of this important work which Professor Forke proposes to publish at an early date.—H. A. G.

The world believes in sacrifices, trusting that they procure happiness, and it approves of exorcism, fancying that it will remove evil influences. Exorcism begins with the ceremony of presenting an offering. An offering is like a banquet given by the living to their guests. First the ghosts are treated like guests and given a meal, but, when they have eaten it, they are expelled with swords and sticks. Provided that ghosts and spirits possess consciousness, they would indubitably resent such a treatment, offering resistance and fighting, and would refuse to leave forthwith. In their anger, they would justly cause misfortune. If they are not conscious, then they cannot do mischief. In that case exorcising would be of no use, and its omission would do no harm.

Moreover, what shape do people ascribe to ghosts and spirits? If they believe them to have a shape, this shape must be like that of living men. Living men in a passion would certainly make an attempt upon the lives of their adversaries. If they have no shape, they would be like mist and clouds. The expulsion of clouds and mist, however, would prove ineffectual.

As we cannot know their shapes, we can neither guess their feelings. For what purpose would ghosts and spirits gather in human

dwellings? In case they earnestly wish to kill people, they would avoid their aggressors, when they drive them out, and abscond; but, as soon as the expulsion ceases, they would return, and re-occupy their former places. Should they have no murderous intentions, and only like to dwell in human houses, they would cause no injury, even if they were not expelled.

When *grandees* go out, thousands of people assemble to have a look at them, thronging the streets and filling the alleys, and striving for the places in front. It is not before the soldiers repel them, that they go away, but no sooner have the soldiers turned their backs, than they return to their places. Unless the soldiers kept watch the whole day without leaving their post, they could not restrain them, because they are bent on having a look and would not go home on account of having been driven back once. Provided that ghosts and spirits resemble living men, they would feel attracted to their homes in the same way as those thousands are determined on sight-seeing. If the soldiers repelling them do not keep watch for a long while, the lookers-on do not disperse, and unless expelled during a whole year, the ghosts would not leave. Now, being expelled after they have finished their meal, they would retire, but having retired, come back again; for what could prevent them?

When grain is being dried in a court-yard, and fowls and sparrows pick it up, they escape, when the master drives them off, but return, when he relaxes his vigilance. He is unable to keep the fowls and sparrows at bay, unless he watches the whole day. If the ghosts be spirits, they would be like fowls and sparrows, and nothing but a constant repulse could frighten them away.

When tigers and wolves enter into a territory, they are pursued with bows and cross-bows, but even their deaths do not do away with the cause of those terrible visits. When brigands and insurgents assault a city, the imperial troops may beat them, but not-

withstanding this rebuff, the cause of their frightful incursions is not removed thereby. The arrival of tigers and wolves corresponds to a disorganised government, that of rebels and bandits, to a general disorder. Thus the gathering of ghosts and spirits is indicative of the sudden end of life. By destroying tigers and wolves and by defeating insurgents and bandits one cannot bring about a reform of the government or re-establish order, neither is it possible to remove misfortune or prolong life by ever so much exorcising and expelling ghosts and spirits.

Sick people see ghosts appear, when their disease has reached its climax. Those who are of a strong and violent character will grasp the sword or the cudgel and fight with the ghosts. They will have one or two rounds, until at last, having missed a thrust, they are forced to surrender, for, unless they surrender, the duel will not come to a close. The ghosts expelled by exorcism are not different from those perceived by sick people, nor is there any difference between expelling and fighting. As the ghosts will not withdraw though assailed by sick people, the conjurations of the master of the house will not prevail upon the ghosts and spirits to leave. Consequently of what use would be such conjurations for the house? Therefore we cannot accept the belief that evil influences might thus be neutralised.

Furthermore, the ghosts which are expelled from the house live there as guests. The hosts are the Twelve Spirits of the house, such as the Green Dragon and the White Tiger and the other spirits occupying the Twelve Cardinal Points.

In addition to the Green Dragon and White Tiger Wang Ch'ung mentions the 太歲 *T'ai-sui*, 登明 *Têng-ming* and 從魁 *Tsung-k'uei* as such spirits.

The Dragon and the Tiger are fierce spirits and the chief ghosts of heaven.

The Green Dragon and the White Tiger are also names of the eastern and western quadrants of the solar mansions.

Flying corpses and floating goblins would not venture to gather against their will, as, when a host is fierce and bold, mischievous guests would not dare to intrude upon him. Now the Twelve Spirits have admitted the others into the house, and the master drives them away. That would be nothing less than throwing out the guests of the Twelve Spirits. Could such a hatred against the Twelve Spirits secure happiness? If there are no Twelve Spirits, there are no flying corpses or goblins either, and without spirits and goblins exorcism would be of no avail and the expulsion have no sense.

Exorcism is an imitation of the old ceremony of the expulsion of sickness. In ancient times 顓頊 Chuan Hsü had three sons, who vanished, when they had grown up. One took up his abode in the water of the Yangtse and became the 虐鬼 Ghost of Fever, one lived in the 若 Jo River and became a 魍魎 Water Spirit, and one in damp and wet corners as the arbiter of sickness. At the end of the year, when all business had been finished, sick people used to drive out the Spirit of Sickness, and believed that by seeing off the old year and going to meet the new one they obtained luck. The world followed this example, whence originated exorcism. But even the ceremony of driving out sickness is out of place.

When Yao and Shun practised their virtues, the empire enjoyed perfect peace, the manifold calamities vanished, and, though the diseases were not driven out, the Spirit of Sickness did not make its appearance. When Chieh and Chon did their deeds, everything within the seas was thrown into confusion, all the misfortunes happened simultaneously, and although the diseases were expelled day by day, the Spirit of Sickness still came back. Declining ages have faith in ghosts, and the unintelligent will pray for happiness. When the Chou were going to ruin, the people believed in ghosts

and prepared sacrifices with the object of imploring happiness and the divine help. Narrow-minded rulers fell an easy prey to imposture, and took no heed of their own actions, but they accomplished nothing creditable, and their administration remained unsettled.

All depends upon man, and not on ghosts, on their virtue, and not on sacrifices. The end of a State is far or near, and human life is long or short. If by offerings, happiness could be obtained, or if misfortune could be removed by exorcism, kings might use up all the treasures of the world for the celebration of sacrifices to delay the end of their reign, and old men and women of rich families might pray for the happiness to be gained by conjurations with the purpose of obtaining an age surpassing the usual span.

Long and short life, wealth and honour of all mortals are determined by fortune and destiny, and as for their actions, whether they prove successful or otherwise, there are times of prosperity and decline. Sacrifices do not procure happiness, for happiness does not depend on oblations. But the world believes in ghosts and spirits to receive these sacrifices; the knowing do not concern themselves about them.

Sacrifices are meant as a kindness done to ghosts and spirits, and yet they do not bring about luck and happiness. Now fancy that those spirits are expelled by brute force. Could that bring any profit?

The sacrificial rites and the methods of exorcism are very numerous. We will prove their uselessness by one example, for from a small sacrifice one may draw a conclusion as to great ones, and from one ghost learn to know all spirits.

When people have finished the building of a house or a cottage, excavated the ground, or dug up the soil, they propitiate the Spirit of Earth after the whole work has been completed, and call this appeasing the earth. They make an earthen figure to

resemble a ghost. The wizards chant their prayers to reconcile the Spirit of Earth; and when the sacrifice is over they become gay and cheerful, and pretend that the ghosts and spirits have been propitiated, and misfortunes and disasters removed. But if we get at the bottom of it, we find that all this is illusive.

Why? Because the material earth is like the human body, whose head and feet are tens of thousands of *li* apart. Mankind lives upon earth as fleas and lice stick to the human body. Fleas and lice feed upon man, and torment his skin, as men dig up the earth, and torment its body. Should some among the fleas and lice, being aware of this, wish to appease man's heart, and for that purpose assemble to propitiate him near the flesh, which they have eaten, would man know about it? Man cannot comprehend what fleas and lice say, as Earth does not understand the speech of man.

The 胡 Hu and the 越 Yüeh have the same ears and mouths, and are animated by similar feelings, but even if they speak mouth to mouth and ear to ear they cannot understand each other. And should there be a communication between the ears and the mouth of Earth and man, who does not resemble her?

Moreover, who is it that hears what man says? Should it be Earth, her ears are too far away to hear, and if it be the earth of one special house, this earth is like an atom of human flesh, how could it understand anything? If the spirit of the house be the hearer, one ought to speak of appeasing the house, but not of appeasing Earth.

The Rites prescribe that entering into the ancestral hall one must not find a master there.

The image of the departed, who as master dwells in the ancestral hall. One has made the device of cutting a wooden tablet, one foot and two inches long, and calling it the master, and one serves it in

the spirit, but does not make a human likeness. Now, at the propitiatory sacrifices to Earth, they make an earthen human figure resembling the shape of a ghost. How could that have a propitiatory effect? Spirits are diffuse, vague, and incorporeal; entering and departing they need no aperture, whence their name of spirits. Now to make a bodily image is not only in opposition to the Rites, but also reveals a misapprehension of the nature of spirits. We know that they have no likeness, therefore, when the mats are spread for sacrifices, no figures of ghosts are put up.

If at the propitiatory service for Earth they set up human figures, could a stone effigy be used at the sacrifice to the Mountains, or could a wooden man be made for the sacrifice to the Gates and Doors?

No figures are used at the sacrifices to those deities.

When 中行寅 Chung Hang Yin of 晉 Chin

A nobleman, related to the ducal house of Chin, of the 5th cent. B.C. The Chung Hang family possessed large domains in Chin.

was near his end, he summoned his high priest, wishing to punish him. "The victims," said he, "which you have immolated for me, have not been fat and glossy. You have not observed the rules of fasting with reverence, and thus have caused the ruin of my State. Is it not so?"

The priest replied in plain terms, "Formerly, my old lord, 中行密子 Chung Hang Mi Tse, possessed ten chariots, and did not feel grieved at their small number, but at the insufficiency of his righteousness. Your Lordship has a hundred war-chariots, and does not feel distressed that his justice is so imperfect, but merely regrets that his chariots do not suffice. When vessels and chariots are well equipped, the taxes must be high, and the taxes being heavy, the people defame and curse their sovereign. If he then

offers sacrifices, of what use can it be to his State? These curses must also ruin the State. One man prays for him, and the whole State curses him. One prayer cannot overcome ten thousand curses. Is it not quite natural that a State should perish thus? What is the guilt of the priest?" Chung Hang Yin then felt ashamed.

The people of to-day rely on sacrifices like Chung Hang Yin. They do not improve their conduct, but multiply the prayers, do not honour their superiors, but fear the ghosts. When they die, or misfortune befalls them, they ascribe it to noxious influences, maintaining that they have not yet been regulated. When they have been regulated and offerings prepared, and misfortunes are as numerous as before, and do not cease, they make the sacrifice answerable, declaring that they have not been performed with sufficient reverence.

As regards exorcism, exorcism is of no use, and as regards sacrifices, sacrifices are of no avail. As respects wizards and priests, wizards and priests have no power, for it is plain that all depends upon man, and not on ghosts, on his virtue, and not on sacrifices.

THE MARINER'S COMPASS

In an amusing after-dinner speech, recently delivered through an interpreter to the China Association, his Imperial Highness Duke Tsai Chi is reported to have said—

It is well known that the mariner's compass was invented in China, and to mention no greater results from its extended application in your hands, one very happy result at any rate is that we have been safely navigated to your hospitable shores. Gunpowder and guns had also their origin in China. A very harmless beginning, and there it might have stayed; but on the occasion of our recent visit to Woolwich Arsenal we noticed how greatly our germ had developed; and the idea suggested itself whether we had benefited mankind in making the discovery.

(London and China Telegraph, 17 April, 1906).

Now no ordinary Chinaman would ever think of boasting that his countrymen invented either the compass or gunpowder and guns, for the simple reason that it would never occur to him that they had not invented them. He would certainly know nothing about the bitter controversy, waged entirely by foreigners, as to the proper allocation of the honours in question.

The Jesuit Fathers, de Mailla and Gaubil, of the 18th century, seem to have been satisfied that the compass was known to the Chinese in very early days, not only ages before it played any part in the civilisation of the West, but so far back as a thousand years and more before Christ. This position was hotly disputed by Dr. Legge in 1865, who concluded his note (Chinese Classics, V, p. 537) as follows:—

The truth, I imagine, is this, that the Chinese got some knowledge of the compass—found it out themselves, or learned it from India—not long before the Christian era, and that then the fables about the making of south-pointing chariots in more ancient times were invented.

He was backed up by Mayers in 1869 (Notes and Queries, iv, p. 11), who rashly and wrongly declared that Dr. Legge had

assembled the entire number of passages, occurring in ancient authors, which have given rise to the existing belief in the antiquity of this invention.

Neither was Mayers more happy in his

curious discovery respecting the probable date when the properties of the magnetic needle were in reality first observed in China—by Ma Kiün, a famous mechanician who flourished at the court of Ming Ti of the Wei dynasty, A.D. 227—239,—a brief notice of whom was met with by accident among the fragments of the works of Fu Tsze.

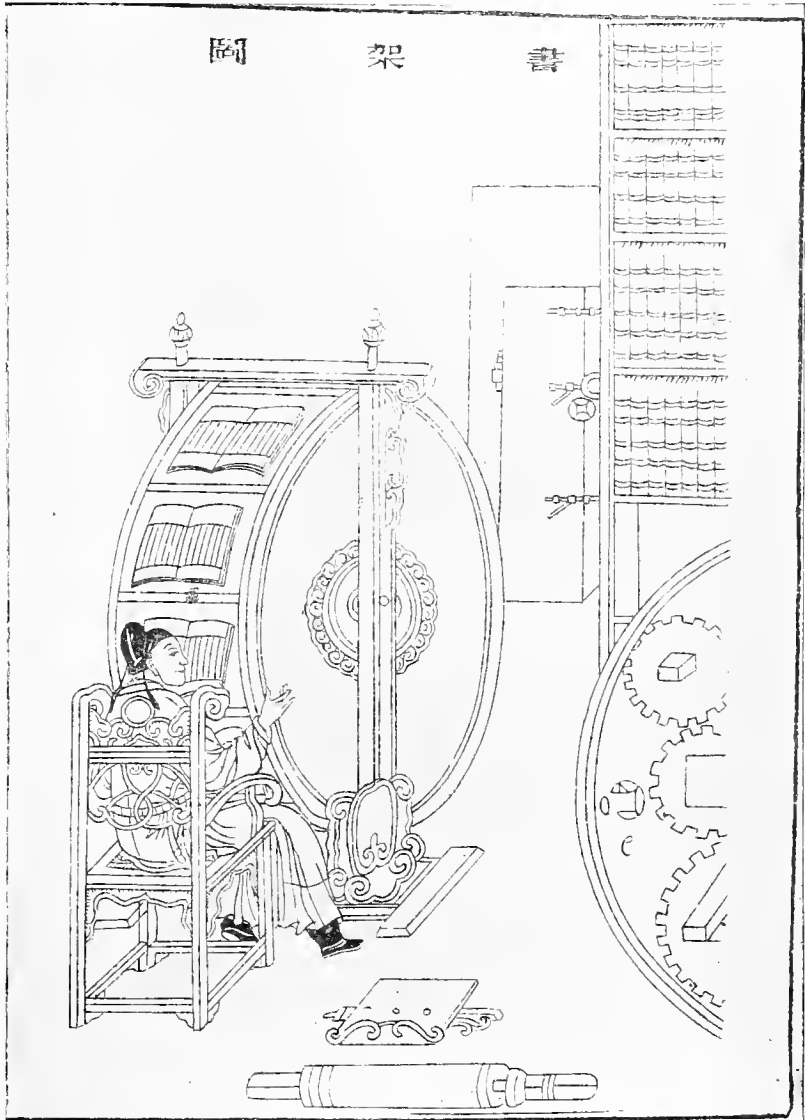
In 1891, Dr. Chalmers took a hand in the fray (China Review, xix, p. 52), opening his attack with the following words:—

Having long observed the intense desire the Chinese have to appropriate to themselves the invention of all sorts of things; and having once or twice already exposed the hollowness of their claims, as in the case of the 'striking clock' not regulated by a *pendulum* but by running water, I feel inclined to pity them when their long acknowledged claim to the early possession of the mariner's compass is called in question.

Dr. Chalmers goes on to say that he will give the facts of the case, leaving others to judge; but his note is eminently unsatisfying, as he only tells us in a vague way something of what the Chinese have said on the subject, and does not quote the *ipsissima verba* of native writers.

It is true that the Chinese have occasionally laid claim, and without any grounds, to purely western inventions; *e. g.* to the revolving reading-desk. Inspection, however, of the accompanying illustration will show that there are *bound* books in the bookcase, standing on end instead of lying, Chinese fashion, on their sides.

I now propose to omit all serious mention of the story, mistakenly said by Dr. Legge to be "given by Sze-ma Ts'een," in



which we are told that when the Yellow Emperor was enveloped in a mist by the first rebel, 蚩尤 Ch'ih Yu, his legendary Majesty

promptly invented the south-pointing chariot to guide himself and his army safely out of it, and finally succeeded in putting his rival to death. Also, to ignore the work known as the 古今注 *Ku chin chu*, attributed to 崔豹 Ts'ni Pao of the 4th century A.D., on the ground that its genuineness is not beyond dispute, and to pass on to § 18, p. 4 *recto* of the official History of the Sung Dynasty, A.D. 420—478, written by the well-known scholar and statesman 沈約 Shên Yo, who lived A.D. 441—513. This authority is not even mentioned by either Legge, Mayers, or Chalmers; yet it contains a fairly full historical account of the whole matter, and its authenticity can in no way be impugned. It runs as follows:—

“The south-pointing chariot was originally constructed by 周公 the Duke of Chou (12th century B.C.), as a means of conducting homewards certain envoys who had arrived from a great distance from beyond the frontiers. The country to be traversed was a boundless flat, where the envoys would be likely to lose their bearings; therefore the Duke made for the first time this chariot, so that the envoys might always be able to distinguish north from south.

鬼谷子 Kuei-ku Tzū

The Philosopher of the Demon Gorge, a name given to 王詡 Wang Hsü, 4th century B.C.

states that the people of the 鄭 Chêng State, when collecting jade, always carried with them a ‘south-pointer,’ and were thus saved from going astray.

This seems to have been understood to mean that jade has itself the property of “pointing south” (see p. 113).

During the Ch'in and Western Han dynasties, however, nothing more was heard of this compass. Under the Eastern Han dynasty

it was re-invented by 張衡 Chang Hêng (A.D. 78–139), but disappeared in the troubles amidst which the dynasty closed.

高堂隆 Kao T'ang-lung and 秦朗 Ch'in Lang of the Wei dynasty were both famous scholars.

The latter was a military commander. I can find no record of the former. They disputed the point before the Court, saying, 'There is no such thing as a south-pointing chariot; the story is a fabrication.' The Emperor Ming Ti, during the Ch'ing-lung period (A.D. 233–237), gave orders to the scholar 馬鈞 Ma Chün to re-construct it, and the chariot was duly made, but was again lost during the troubles of the 晉 Chin dynasty. 石虎 Shih Hu caused 解飛 Hsieh Fei, and 姚興 Yao Hsing caused 令狐生 Ling-hu Shêng, to make others.

Shih Hu was the successor, in A.D. 332, of 石勒 Shih Lo, ruler of 後趙 the Later Chao, one of the Sixteen States. Yao Hsing was ruler, from A.D. 394 to 416, of another State, the Western (or Later) 秦 Ch'in.

The Emperor An Ti in A.D. 417, and the Emperor Wu Ti of the Sung dynasty, when he settled Ch'ang-an, finally obtained this chariot. Its make was like that of a drum-chariot. A wooden figure of a man was fixed on the top, with an arm raised and pointing southwards, in such a way that although the chariot turned round, the arm still pointed south. This chariot, with the general impedimenta, went first, to lead the way.

The same chariot, as constructed by the 戎狄 western tribes (? Tibetans), did not work anything like so well; and although called a south-pointing chariot, very often did not point true, and had to be taken slowly round turns, as though dependent upon the help of man for its accuracy.

A man of 范陽 Fan-yang, named 祖冲之 Tsu Ch'ung-chih, who had an ingenious turn, often said that another chariot ought to be made.

Tsu Ch'ung-chih was a famous mathematical and mechanical genius, who died A.D. 500. "He constructed a machine which, not dependent on wind or water power, would 自運不勞人力 revolve of itself, without any aid from man." Also a boat, which 日行百餘里 "would travel over 100 *li* a day,"—presumably by some mechanical means.

The Emperor Shun Ti, at the close of the Shêng-ming period (A.D. 477—479), when the Prince of Ch'i was his Minister, ordered him to make a chariot; and when completed, it was tested by 王僧虔 Wang Sêng-ch'ien, Military Governor of 丹陽 Tan-yang, and by Liu Hsiu, President of the Censorate. Its workmanship was excellent, and although the chariot was twisted and turned in a hundred directions, the hand never failed to point south. Under the Chin dynasty there was also a south-pointing ship.

The former, A.D. 426—485, was an eminent statesman and calligraphist. On one occasion, the first Emperor of the Southern Ch'i dynasty, who greatly fancied himself as a calligraphist, challenged him to 賭書 a trial of skill, and when they had finished, asked him whose was the best. "Mine is the best," replied Wang, "and your Majesty's is also the best." "Ah," said the Emperor with a laugh; 卿可謂善自謀矣 "you know how to take care of your skin."

拓跋燾 Toba Tao (third Emperor of the Northern Wei dynasty, died 452) caused an artificer named 郭善明 Kuo Shan-ming, to construct a south-pointing chariot, which was not completed in a year. There was also a man of 扶風 Fu-fêng, named 馬岳 Ma Yo, who made one; and when he had completed it Kuo Shan-ming poisoned him."

.

The above account must be taken to represent all the available information from Chinese sources as to any early knowledge of the compass. Further mention of the famous chariot is made in later histories, such as those of the Wei, Northern Ch'i, and T'ang dynasties, as may be seen by reference to the *P'ei wên yün fu*; but

I can find nothing therein of any particular interest. There is, however, one passage from the **蜀志許靖傳** *Shu chih hsü ching chuan* biography of Hsü Ching in the History of the Shu Kingdom, written by Ch'ên Shou, A.D. 233—297, which may be worth quoting. It is this;—

足下當以爲指南

You, sir, ought to take him as a compass (guide).

This figurative use of the term seems to presuppose the existence of something at any rate which was known to point invariably to the south. The Chinese idea as to what that was is shown in the annexed illustration, taken from the **圖書集成** *T'u shu ch'eng* (A.D. 1726), where we are told that the figure of the man was 1.42 feet in height, and made of jade (see p. 110); also that the man stands on a swivel which is fitted through the head of Ch'ih Yu, the great rebel (see *ante*),—a motive constantly met with in Chinese decorative art. The writer declares that about A.D. 1317 he actually saw the chariot himself, and that the jade was slightly discoloured, apparently from age.

The Chinese have of course known the loadstone and its property from very early ages. It is mentioned in the **山海經** *Shan hai ching*,—always to be quoted with reservations; also by Huai-nan Tzū of the 2nd century B.C., who says, “it will attract iron but not copper.” In the **三輔黃圖** *San fu huang t'u*, we read,—

The gateways of the Pleasance of O-fang (3rd cent. B.C.) were made of loadstone, so that anyone who was concealing weapons would be stopped.

In the **易各從其類疏** *I ko ts'ung ch'i lei su* (quoted in the *P'ei wên yün fu*) we read:—

Not only is there a mutual attraction between likes, but also between unlikes; as for instance the loadstone, which attracts needles, and amber, which picks up snips.

The most important passage of all comes from the **夢溪筆談**

Méng ch'i pi t'an, by 沈括 Shên Kua, A.D. 1030–1093, famous



for his great learning, and also for his disastrous defeat by the Kitan Tartars. It runs as follows:—

Necromancers rub the point of a needle with the loadstone, and then it will point south.

Shên Kua lived, it will be noted, somewhere about the time at which the compass appears to have first become known to the Western world. Whether the Chinese were acquainted with the magnetic needle before that date or not, the reader will now be able to judge for himself.

MOSES (*see* p. 55).

Professor Chavannes has kindly favoured me with the following note:—

En ce qui concerne le passage du *San ts'ai t'ou houi*, je crois qu'il s'agit, non de Moïse, mais d'Ismaël (*Sseu-ma-yen*), fils du patriarche Abraham (*P'ou lo heou*); c'est à la Mecque (*Mo-k'ia*) que se trouve en effet le fameux puits de Zemzim qui passe pour être la source miraculeuse où s'abreuva la mère d'Ismaël; nous avons donc affaire ici d'une tradition musulmane qui a pu être apportée par les pèlerins chinois qui dès le 15 siècle, visitèrent les lieux saints de l'Arabie.

TWO YANGS

Students of "The Chinese Classics," as translated and annotated by Dr. Legge, must have frequently been struck by the amazing industry and the extraordinary accuracy of the great Aberdonian. Of him it may be said,—with far more justice than he himself said it of Lao Tzū (*see* p. 59),—that he left behind him a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί*. His translation of the Confucian Canon has helped many a weaker brother to a right understanding of a most difficult text,—a point the latter might otherwise never have reached; and it has also enabled other and still weaker brethren to pose as independent interpreters of works which lie in reality beyond their powers. It was reserved for Sir Thomas Wade to stigmatise, as I have observed before (p. 24 *ante*), as "wooden," the phraseology of what is one of our national glories, his own meagre output in Anglo-Chinese scholarship being almost entirely contained within the covers of the *Tzū Erh Chi*,—a primer useful enough in its day, but not altogether an immortal production, as is evidenced by the fact that a great deal of it has since been withdrawn from circulation, including of course the famous—some might say infamous—"Graduate's Wooing."

Dr. Legge made mistakes here and there; and one of the most curious of these seems to have escaped the notice of the dozens of students who must have pored over his Mencius, although it practically vitiates the reasoning of a whole page.

In the Prolegomena to vol. ii of his "Chinese Classics," p. 96,

Dr. Legge discusses the opinions of 楊朱 Yang Chu, who he rightly says—

belonged to the period of the Warring States, the same era of Chinese history as Mencius.

He goes on to say that Yang Chu was “styled 子居 Tsze-keu.” This is the first knot in the tangle: the “style” of Yang Chu has not been hauded down. Dr. Legge then refers to a note on p. 159, where he had written—

Yang Choo, called also Yang Shoo 成 and Yang Tsze-keu 子居, was an heresiarch of the times of Confucius and Laou-tsze.

He explains this by saying that he based it on—

a passage of the Taoist philosopher Chwang, in which he gives an account of an interview between Laou-tsze and Yang Choo. That interview, however, must be an invention of Chwang.

The truth here is that no such interview is to be found in the works of “Chwang,” that is, of 莊子 Chuang Tzū. In a footnote to the above, Dr. Legge makes confusion worse confounded by quoting the chapter on Yang Chu which appears in the book attributed to 列子 Lieh Tzū, who “lived about the same time as Laou-tsze,” and was “a contemporary of Duke Mu,” whose reign “extended from B.C. 625 to 604.” As Dr. Legge goes on to observe, “There is evidently a gross anachronism somewhere;” adding, “This is not the place to attempt an adjustment of the difficulties.”

As to difficulties, there are really none to adjust. The tangle unravels itself, if the texts involved are examined with ordinary care.

In chapters 8, 10, 12, and 25, of the writings of Chuang Tzū, will be found allusions to the philosopher 楊朱 Yang Chu, the founder of the 爲我 egoistic school, as opposed to the 兼愛 altruism of 墨翟 Mo Ti, about whose date too Dr. Legge was rather foggy, as on p. 103 we read, “He was certainly later than

Confucius," while on p. 123 Dr. Legge thinks that "Confucius might have dealt more fairly and generously with him."

In chapters 7, 20, and 27, of the same author, will be found allusions to a philosopher named 陽 (not 楊) 子居 Yang Tzū-chū, who is said to have had two interviews with Lao Tzū. This Yang Tzū-chū (Legge's "Tsze-ken") is said in the edition by 郭象 Kuo Hsiang (*d.* A.D. 312), § ix, p. 13 *recto*, to have been one 陽戎 Yang Jung (not 戎 *shu*), whose style was Tzū-chū; though elsewhere, § iii, p. 22 *verso*, the positions of the *Jung* and the *Chū* are transposed. Two quite distinct personages have, in fact, been rolled into one; and not by Dr. Legge only, but also by Professor Forke in his article on Yang Chu (*Journal of Peking Oriental Society*, III, p. 227), and by 張湛 Chang Chan, the editor, and probably the author, of the little volume which passes under the name of Lieh Tzū,—an individual otherwise known as 列禦寇 Lieh Yü-k'ou and created by Chuang Tzū for the purposes of his philosophy, just as Mr. Greatheart was created by Bunyan for the purposes of the Pilgrim's Progress.

ART THOU THE CHRIST? (*see* p. 27)

Mr. T. W. Kingsmill writes in the *Shanghai Mercury* as follows:—

That the idea is not Chinese is evident at a glance; the pose and the arrangement of the figures are plainly Italian, it might be under the influence of Byzantine art about the fifth or sixth century, but more likely early Renaissance. The medal probably represented the Transfiguration, and the inscription almost certainly referred to the doctrine of the Trinity, and there is no difficulty in supposing the inscription to have been put on in China.

By the same Author:

A Chinese-English Dictionary, ryl 4to, pp. XLVI and 1415

Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio, 2 vols. cr. 8vo.

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A Chinese Biographical Dictionary, pp. XII, 1022

Catalogue of the Wade Library, Cambridge

Chinese Poetry in English Verse

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THE DANCE IN ANCIENT CHINA

At the half-yearly sacrifices to Confucius, illuminating notes on which have been published by Bishop Moule (*Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 33, fasc. 2, p. 37), may still be seen the last vestiges of what was once a national institution. Very ill done, says Bishop Moule, was the "posturing" which formed an accompaniment to the Confucian hymn, the youths who went through the movements, so many to each word, being almost untrained, and fitted only to show off the gorgeous robes in which they were dressed. These "postures," however, are not without interest as a survival of the art of dancing, which appears to have been widely practised in ancient China, and to have been carried later on, with the rest of the Chinese arts and crafts, to Japan. The dances are now performed by eight pairs of dancers, dressed as in the poorly-drawn illustration, and holding a triple 翟 pheasant's feather in one hand and a three-holed (some say six-holed) 簫 flute in the other.

All these accessories, it appears, are the additions of later ages. In an appeal 舞學不可廢 for the preservation of the study of dancing, by 朱載堉 Chu Tsai-yü of the Ming dynasty, we are expressly told that the dancers of old 不執干羽 did not hold either shields or feathers, but 空手而舞 danced with empty hands, and without hats. At thirteen, boys began to learn, and by twenty, when they were capped as adults, their education in this line was complete.

The shield and the feather were symbols of the old military and civil dances, respectively. Under the Ming dynasty the shields were 3.5 feet in

length, by 1 foot in breadth at the upper, and 6 inches at the lower, end; the feathers were 3.5 feet in length.



So far back, however, as the Chou dynasty, B.C. 1100–250, the

dance was already divided into military and civil, and these were performed by sixty-four dancers in each case, with shield and banner, feather and flute, respectively. They were accompanied by song, and were known as 舞 *wu*, strangely translated by Legge as "pantomimes" (*Analects*, Bk. 3, ch. 1). "Operatic ballets" would perhaps be nearer the mark. Whatever they were, the suzerain was limited to eight, the feudal nobles to six, Ministers of State to four, and ordinary officials to two.

There were six dances officially recognised under the Chou dynasty, namely, (1) 帔 the split-feather dance, used for purposes of exorcism or lustration, this character being, according to 顏師古 Yen Shih-ku, A.D. 579-645, equivalent to 祓; (2) 羽 the whole-feather dance, used in 祭祀 worship; (3) 皇 the regulating dance, used against 旱暵之事 droughts; (4) 旄 the tail dance, an ox's tail, symbol of agriculture, being grasped by the dancers; (5) 干 the shield dance, symbolical of a defensive, as opposed to an aggressive military attitude; (6) 戚 the battle-axe dance, symbolical of preparedness to strike, if necessary. To these is added a seventh, 人舞 humanity dance, in which battle-axes, whole-feathers, and ox-tails, are mere ornamental accessories, the purport of the dance being conveyed by means of gesture with hand and foot.

It is in the Odes, of course, that we look for, and find, the earliest authentic record of the dance in ancient China. There we read of "dancing under the trees," of "the exquisite dancing" of a Duke, of "dancing with a flute in the left hand and a pheasant's feather in the right," etc. etc. A bridegroom says to his bride:

Although I have no fine wine,
I trust we shall have something to drink;
Although I have no rich food,
I trust we shall have something to eat;
Although I have no accomplishments to offer you,
We will sing and we will dance.

This last extract, taken with what is to follow, almost conjures up such a picture of the ancient Chinese youth as that which Gladstone (*Studies on Homer*) drew around the young contemporary Greek:—

He joins the dance in the festivals of religion, the maiden's hand upon his wrist, and the gilded knife glancing from his belt, as they course from point to point, or wheel in round on round.

Wine, indeed, was not lacking at the Chinese feast of old. We read in one Ode how, until the cup had circulated somewhat freely, the demeanour of the guests was all that could be desired; but that gradually —

When they begin to feel tipsy,
Their decorous behaviour changes to frolic;
They leave their seats and wander about,
Kicking their legs high in the dance.

By and by —

When they are still more drunk,
They altogether forget themselves,
And with their caps awry,
Dance on without ceasing.

Another Ode tells of dancing in connection with sacrifices to a dead hero, that is, of dancing as a religious ceremony, under which form it seems to have been originally practised. In the 祭祀志 chapter on sacrifice and worship in the 後漢書 History of the Later Han Dynasty, we find recorded the names of the songs which were sung, and of dances which were danced, at the various annual festivals; and we are further informed in the commentary that 不知所出 the origin of these dances is not known, but that 舊以祀天 formerly they were used in the worship of God. The 路史 *Lu shih*, by 羅泌 Lo Pi of the Sung dynasty, says —

帝堯陶唐氏制咸
池之舞以享上帝

The Emperor Yao (B.C. 2357) ordained the Han-ch'ih dance, for the enjoyment of God.

Another writer, 陳暘 Ch'ên Yang, who died about A.D. 1150, says that the dance originated as follows:—

樂之在耳爲聲而
可以聽知在目爲
容而不可以貌觀
故先王之制舞也 etc.

Music appeals to the ear as sound, and can be appreciated by the sense of hearing; it appeals to the eye as beauty, but cannot be appreciated by the sense of sight. Therefore the ancient kings instituted the dance, using shields and battle-axes, feathers and banners, to illustrate the beauty, and using movements, upwards and downwards, to illustrate the meaning, of the music.

But, as has been already stated, the ancient official dance of China was performed altogether without accessories. A short poem of perhaps sixteen words having been chosen, two performers, dressed as in the pictures reproduced, and accompanied by music, would proceed to illustrate these words, expressing each one by a figure (as of a quadrille) of eight separate 春 movements. Thus, the number of figures to a dance would depend upon the number of words in the poem. The following is a specimen poem, based upon a well-known Ode and involving in its representation no fewer than one hundred and sixty movements:—

立	我	烝	民
日	出	而	作
日	入	而	息
鑿	井	而	飲
耕	田	而	食

Thou didst establish the multitudes of our people, to go forth to work at sunrise, to go in to rest at sunset, to bore wells for drink, and to till fields for food.

For each of the eight movements which constituted a figure, there

was a special step, and the hands occupied a particular position. Three such movements are shown in the illustrations. The first



proves that the dance was essentially a step dance, and not mere posturing, as some have thought; the second is of a characteristic pose; and the third gives an idea of advancing and retiring, as in our own square dances.

In this sense, the Chinese dance may be closely compared with the Greek *ὄρχησις*, which was not only rhythmical but essentially pantomimic in character. It was, as we are told by a recent writer (M. A. Hincks), "the imitation of words by gestures, the bodily expression of a feeling." The same writer adds, "the word *ὀρχήματα*

means a dance to the sound of singing,—a dance expressing by gesticulation the words of the accompanying poem.”

From the 續文獻通考 and other sources, we learn that under the Earlier and Later Han dynasties, B.C. 200 — A.D. 400, the number of dancers employed at what we may call public or show dances ran into hundreds, and that the troupes were often mixed, men and girls taking part together. Such dances were of the character of ballets, and were intended to represent or illustrate some special motive. The band which provided the music consisted usually



of fourteen performers on drums, flutes, etc., but that number could be doubled if necessary.

What we may call the private dance seems to have been a different thing altogether. At a banquet, 飲酒酣 when inflamed with



wine, we are told by the author of the 通典 *T'ung tien*, in his chapter on dancing, that 必起自舞 it was obligatory to get up and dance. So, too, 張燕公 Chang Yen-kung connects dancing closely with inebriation:—

醉	後	觀	更	好
全	勝	未	醉	時
動	容	皆	是	舞
出	語	總	成	詩

All joys are poor to sober glance;
 True joys to wine belong,—
 When every step we take is dance,
 And every word is song.

What is quite certain is that, in ancient China, dancing was not confined to paid performers. There is, on the one hand, the old story of the eighty dancing-girls sent from the Ch'i State to the Lu State, in order to divert the mind of the Prince of Lu from political aggression; but in an account of the same epoch we are told that when Confucius and his followers were for seven days in great straits for want of food, and while the Master was philosophically playing on and singing to his guitar, Tzū-lu, his brave disciple, 佗然執干而舞 suddenly seized his shield and began to dance. The mother of the First Emperor, 3rd cent. B.C., was 善舞 skilled at the dance; and a concubine of the first Emperor of the Earlier Han dynasty 善爲翹袖折腰之舞 was skilled at the wave-sleeve-and-bend-waist dance. The poet 李益 Li I has left us a stanza, entitled 觀石將軍舞 "Watching General Shih dance," which this soldier was not ashamed to do, 錦纏頭 with a gold-brocaded turban on his head. The Emperor 成帝 Ch'êng Ti, who 憎燈燭之照 hated the glare of lamps and candles, was very fond, 宴幸既罷 when the revelry was over, 靜鼓自舞 of having a quiet dance all to himself; and so lightly did his Majesty trip it, that 步不揚塵 his steps did not raise the dust.

In the History of the 魏 Wei dynasty we read—

At the winter solstice of the year A.D. 479, the Emperor and the Empress-Dowager gave a grand banquet to the Court officials at which 高祖 親舞於太后前 the Emperor himself danced before the Empress-Dowager, and all the officials danced too. The Emperor then sang a song, after which he proceeded at the head of his Court to make obeisance twice before her Majesty, wishing her many myriad years of life; with which the Empress-Dowager was much gratified.

The notorious 太平公主 T'ai-p'ing Princess often danced, either alone or with a partner, for the amusement of the Emperor. So did the famous rebel An Lu-shan, in spite of his enormous weight, said to have been 三百五十斤 350 catties, or no less than thirty-three stone,—Daniel Lambert weighed over fifty-two stone,—if the catty of a thousand years ago was the same as the catty of today. He must even have rivalled a modern waltzer, for we read that 於上前旋舞如風 he spun round in the dance before the Emperor like the wind.

Rapid gyration seems to have been quite a feature of certain kinds of Chinese dancing, as elsewhere we read of one 王齊叟 Wang Ch'i-sou, who could sing and dance, 右左周旋如神觀者失色 spinning round left or right like a spirit, to the terror of the beholders.

There is a well-known story of a high official, 祝欽明 Chu Ch'in-ming, died A.D. 711, who performed before the Emperor a dance in which he finished up by 據地搖頭 standing on his hands and wagging his head about in a funny way. His Majesty roared with laughter, but a grave statesman who was looking on, sighed and said, "This is sweeping the ground with the Five Classics,"—an ignoble use for a head which contained so much acquired wisdom. On one occasion, when the Emperor 景帝 Ching Ti, B.C. 156—140, was celebrating his birthday, and all the barons were singing and dancing in his presence, the Prince of 長沙 Ch'ang-sha in his turn stepped forward, but merely made a slight salutation. All the courtiers laughed at his awkwardness, and the Emperor asked him sternly what he meant. "May it please your Majesty," said the Prince, 臣國小地狹不足回旋 "my fief is a very small one; there is no room in it to turn round."

In A.D. 577, the third Emperor of the Northern Chou dynasty, who had just annexed the Northern Ch'i State, and was having a

drinking-bout with its leading officials, tried to make the wretched monarch, 延宗 Yen Tsung, whom he had dispossessed, dance before the assembled guests. Yen Tsung 悲不自持 lost control of himself in his distress, and called for poison to put an end to his woes, until the women-folk prevailed upon his Majesty to desist. In the supplement to Ma Tuan-lin's encyclopaedia, it is stated that at the 端午 Dragon-boat festival of the year A.D. 939, when the Court officials and various foreign envoys had conveyed their congratulations, there followed the usual banquet, after which the Emperor commanded the envoys from 回鶻 the Ouigour country and from 燉煌 Tun-huang 作本國舞 to dance their national dances.

Coming down to still later times, we read in 天祚帝本紀 of the History of the Liao Dynasty that after a feast given by the last Emperor of that House to a number of chieftains,

his Majesty retired with the half-tipsy crowd to a pavilion, and gave orders that each of the vassal nobles should dance before him. When it came to the turn of Akutêng, that chieftain excused himself on the ground that he could not dance; and even though the Emperor pressed him again and again, he would not comply. Later on, the Emperor said privately to Hsiao Fêng-hsien, a Privy Councillor, At the banquet the other day, Akutêng was a little too haughty, and strange in his manner. Work up some complaint about frontier business, and take off his head; otherwise he will be giving trouble. To this Hsiao replied, He is a coarse fellow, and does not know how to behave. His death would weaken the allegiance of the chieftains, and if things took an unfavourable turn, what should we be able to do then?

A few years later, and Akutêng, who would not stoop to dance, had become first Emperor of the rival dynasty of the Golden Tartars, and the Liao dynasty came to an end.

Dancing seems to have been employed upon a variety of occasions, and to have included a variety of styles. It appears not only as an act of worship for the enjoyment of God, but also as a kind of exorcism, causing 水道 watercourses to run freely which had

previously been 壅塞不行 blocked. It was customary to dance to a person as a compliment, upon which it was expected that the receiver of the compliment would get up and respond in like manner. Thus we read of such a compliment paid to the famous poet T'ao Ch'ien, A.D. 365—427, to which the latter 謙不爲起固強之 modestly declined to respond until much pressed, and even then, 及舞又不轉 when he did dance, he did not turn round. So, too, Ts'ao Ts'ao, the great general of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., to celebrate his victory over 袁譚 Yüan Tan, 於馬上舞三巴 danced the *San pa* on horseback. Perhaps it was the horse that danced, dancing horses being quite common in ancient China. In the year A.D. 505, a 赤龍駒 red dragon colt was presented to the Emperor, which 能伏拜 could kneel down and make obeisance, and was also 善舞 good at dancing.

In A.D. 520, the son of a conspirator, who wished to make away with the Empress-Dowager, when called upon to dance before the Court, 爲殺縛之勢 did so with such threatening gestures that 太后解其意 the Empress-Dowager guessed what was intended, and took care that the father was forthwith put to death.

Of Chinese poetry on the subject of dancing, there is a sufficient quantity to form an anthology all to itself, and most of it is in a decidedly rapturous vein.

When the wine has been set for the feast,
The host arises and pledges his guests;
Jade beakers are ranged between the pillars,
In a long line connecting east rooms with west.
Then gracefully wave the sleeves of the dancers,
Moving in myriad changing forms.
Host and guest vie with one another in good fellowship,
Enjoying themselves with never-flagging zest.
May they continue to do so for a thousand years,
Meeting thus in friendship in those halls. 傅元 *Fu Yüan*.

A longer poem has come down to us from 張衡 Chang Hêng

of the Later Han dynasty, in which he describes how, at a banquet when everybody was tipsy, 美人興而將舞 a beautiful girl arose and began to dance, finally breaking into a song in which she bewailed separation from her lover. She is the 孤雌翔 hen bird which circles alone; she 思故鄉 thinks of her old home, as she 擗纖腰 clasps her willow waist.

The Emperor 簡文 Chien Wên of the Liang dynasty, a well-known poet, has left several poems on dancing. In one he writes of a lovely *danseuse*, 廣袖拂紅塵 whose wide sleeves sweep the surface of the red dust, whose waist bends to the movement of the sleeves, and whose twinkling feet and moth-eyebrows combine to produce 見此空愁人 a scene which banishes care from the heart of man.

And so the story runs, all through past dynasties, down at any rate to the sixteenth century; for we have a poet of the Mings, named 徐禎卿 Hsü Chên-ch'ing, who wrote a poem on 觀舞 "Watching Dancing," which opens as follows:—

What festival is this, with lamps filling the hall,
And golden hair-pins dancing by night alongside of flowery lutes?
A fragrant breeze flutters the sleeve and a red haze arises,
While jade wrists flit round and round in mazy flight.

With the incoming of the Manchu Tartars a more serious spirit prevailed; and with the patronage of literature added to the cares of State, the great Emperors K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung had little time to spare for the dance.

THE HOME OF *JIU JITSU*

So much has been lately said and written about 柔術 *jiu jitsu*, the Japanese form of self-defence, that it may be of interest to see what China, with her vastly longer national life, has achieved in the same direction.

The first available reference carries us back to B.C. 631, China's age of chivalry, when the rival feudal nobles were constantly engaged in cutting each other's throats. In that year, while the armies of the 晉 Chin and the 楚 Ch'u States lay opposed, waiting for the signal to fight, the Marquis of Chin dreamt that he was boxing with the Viscount of Ch'u, and that on being knocked down by the Viscount, the latter knelt beside him and sucked out his brains. This he naturally regarded as a bad omen; however, his chief henchman interpreted the dream as favourable, pointing out that the Marquis was on his back, looking up to heaven, while the Viscount was kneeling, as it were in admission of wrong-doing. So when the general of the Ch'u forces sent—quite à la Chevy Chase—to say that his army would like to “have a game of play” with the Chin army, at which he himself and the Marquis could look on, the Marquis sent back to advise the enemy to hold themselves well prepared. During the fight which ensued, the centre of the Chin army feigned a flight, dragging boughs of trees to make a dust and increase the appearance of disorder. The Ch'u army followed, and was promptly surrounded and cut to pieces.

Before proceeding further with the art of self-defence, properly so called, allusion may be made to a strange pastime, known as

角觥 (or 抵) "butting," which is said to have been invented some few years before the *soi-disant* First Emperor consolidated the feudal States under his own rule in B.C. 221. It is mentioned in the Historical Record under the reign of the Second Emperor, but became less popular during the succeeding Han dynasty, although in B.C. 108 a grand display of butting was organised under Imperial patronage, and we read that people came from a hundred miles round about in order to see the fun. Such fun as the sport yielded, was enjoyed mostly by the spectators; for we are told in the History of the T'ang Dynasty, when butting was revived, that 有碎首斷臂流血廷中 "there were smashed heads, broken arms, and blood running in the palace yard."

Again, in the History of the Five Dynasties, we find that the Emperor Chuang Tsung, who died A.D. 926, was very fond of butting; and as he usually beat 王都 Wang Tu, one of his courtiers with whom he played, he began to fancy himself, and challenged one 李存賢 Li Tsuu-hsien, the great professional player of the day, offering him a high post as a prize for victory. His Majesty was defeated, and later on generously kept his promise. The sport of butting apparently consisted in putting an ox-skin, horns and all, over the head, and then trying to knock one's adversary out of time by butting at him after the fashion of bulls, as in the illustration annexed. One writer speaks of butting as 前衝後敵無非有力之人 "attacking in front, guarding behind, all players being men of great strength; 左攫右拏盡是用拳之輩 clutching left and seizing right, all players being of the boxer class."

Boxing, often expressed as 拳搏 "fisting and gripping," has been placed by the Chinese on an altogether different level. It has been regarded more as a business than as a sport, in the sense that it was once a part of military training, had its "professors," and was

even reduced to a science in the 拳經 *Ch'üan ching* or Canon of Boxing. Strange to say, the most famous exponents of the art



were Buddhist priests who inhabited the well-known 少林 *Shao-lin* monastery. This, as we are told in the History of the Wei Dynasty, was founded in the following manner:—

A shaman from 西域 Central Asia, by name 跋陀 Po-t'o, who was profoundly devout, became such an object of veneration and faith to the Emperor Kao Tsu (*died* A.D. 500), that his Majesty gave orders for the Shao-lin monastery to be built on the north side of the 少室 Shao-shih mountain for him to dwell in, food and raiment being supplied at the public expense.

The priests of Shao-lin, probably as a measure of self-defence in troublous times, seem to have devoted themselves seriously to what for convenience sake may be called "boxing," though the term is often made to include such varieties as *la savate*, wrestling, quarter-staff, and even spear-play, and may very possibly be nothing more nor less than the archetype of the modern Japanese science of *jiu jitsu*. In reference to a famous boxer mentioned in the 寧波府志 Topography of Ningpo, we are told that

the art of self-defence is twofold: 外家 exoteric and 內家 esoteric. The exoteric style was that which was so greatly in vogue at Shao-lin, and consists chiefly in striking the adversary, and then by an acrobatic bound placing oneself out of reach. This style, however, often lays the striker open to serious risks. The esoteric style was that handed down by 張松溪 Chang Sung-ch'i, and consists in opposing the adversary, but not letting fly unless actually compelled by stress of circumstances, and without giving any loophole of attack. This is the better style of the two.

The Chang above-mentioned stated that his style had originated with a boxer of the same name, probably an ancestor, who flourished in the twelfth century. The later artist is described as being

of an exceedingly retiring disposition, like that of a student of books. He was so deferential to all persons he came in contact with, that 身若不勝衣 his body seemed scarcely able to carry the weight of his clothes; and when any one pressed him as to the secrets of his art, he would humbly beg to be excused, and incontinently take his leave. At that date the Shao-lin priests had spread their reputation for boxing all over the empire, and it happened too that the 倭 Dwarfs (Japanese) were then giving trouble, and that an Imperial order had been sent down for the priests to attack them. Now some seventy of the priests, hearing of the fame of Chang, proceeded to Ningpo, and tried to get acquainted with him

whereupon Chang kept carefully concealed until some young friends of his persuaded him to go and take a look at the visitors. The priests were found practising in the upper storey of a wine-shop; and an inadvertent laugh from Chang soon betrayed who was present among them. So they begged Chang to have a bout; but before he would agree, he insisted that the beadle should be summoned, and an agreement entered into that he should not be held responsible in case of death. This being settled, Chang folded his arms, and sat down on the ground. A priest then 跳躍來蹴 came skipping around him, with a view to getting in a kick; Chang however slightly inclined his body and 舉手送之 let fly. The priest shot through the window like a ball, and fell so heavily outside that he was nearly killed.

Another famous boxer of the Ningpo prefecture was named 邊澄 Pien Ch'êng,

When fifteen years of age, he heard that at a certain shrine 祈夢 有驗 prayers of worshippers for dreams were duly answered, and accordingly he proceeded thither, and begged that he might be taught some art in which he could make a name for himself. Then he dreamt that spirit-soldiers taught him to box, and his physical strength began to increase. Travelling into Shantung, he amused himself with such feats as bringing to a dead stop a cart running down hill; finally, hearing that the priests at the Shao-lin monastery had gained a world-wide reputation for boxing, he pretended to be a cook, and took service with them for three years, at the end of which time he had thoroughly acquainted himself with their art. On resigning his post, he went to take leave of the abbot, who as a reward for his past toil offered to give him a little teaching; to which Pien replied that he had himself picked up some knowledge of boxing, and when tested, he proved himself a better man than any of the priests' pupils.

Pien now led a roving life, of course full of adventure, and always without meeting his match.

In 1513, the Dwarf-Bandits arrived with tribute, and some among them who were good at spear-play, and had heard of Pien's fame, begged to be allowed a bout with him. The Governor having consented, ten or more of the Dwarfs took spears, and tried who could throw the farthest. Pien then seized a spear, with a flag attached, and threw it beyond any of them. His opponents now surrounded him with their spears; whereupon Pien, with a yell, leaped right over them, dragging with him one or two of the Dwarfs, not to kill them, but simply as an exhibition of his prowess.

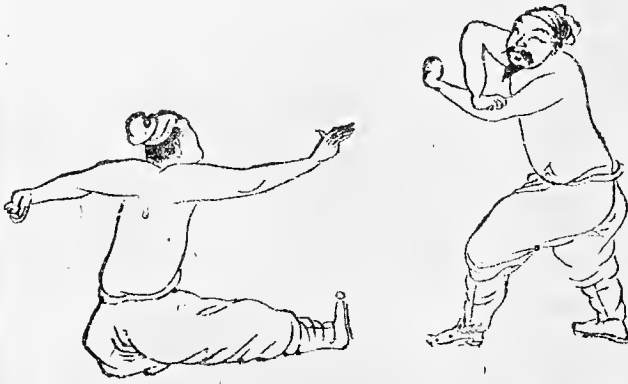
In the 紀效新書, a military work of the 16th century, written at a time when Japanese descents upon the coast were a constant source of anxiety, and on the very scene of such exploits, namely, the seaboard of Chehkiang, we have what may be called a scientific treatise on boxing, in view of its practical application to military needs. It runs as follows:—

Boxing seems to be an accomplishment of no real value in serious warfare. At the same time, inasmuch as a study of this art in its elementary stages involves flexibility of the arms and legs, together with activity of the body, I have included it for the sake of completeness. In boxing, the body must be quick to move, the hands quick to take advantage, and the legs lightly planted but firm, so as to advance or retire with effect. In the 腿可飛騰 flying leap of the leg lies the skill of the art; in turning the adversary upside down lies its ferocity; in planting a straight blow with the fist lies its rapidity; and in 活捉朝天而其柔也 deftly holding the adversary face upwards lies its gentleness.



The use here of the word *jou* "gentleness" is peculiarly noticeable, the Japanese term *jiu jitsu* being the equivalent of the Chinese

jou shu "gentle art." Altogether, we may fairly come to a conclusion, reinforced as it is by the two accompanying illustrations from the



Art of Boxing, that the Japanese learnt the art in China from the Chinese, carried it away home with them, added to it from their own resources of ingenuity, and now come forward to teach the improved art, not only to the East, but to the West.

Chinese Art, by S. W. Bushell, C. M. G., B. Sc., M. D.,
2 vols. London, 1904—1906.

This article is by Mr. Lionel Giles, M. A. (Oxon), Assistant in the Printed Books' Department, British Museum.

The price alone of these two volumes is almost enough to disarm the unfriendly critic, who in return for the absurdly small sum of 3/- is presented with some 300 pages of text and over 200 excellent plates. Within this compass we have thirteen chapters, dealing with all the important branches of Chinese art, namely, sculpture, architecture, bronzes, carving in wood, ivory, and horn, lacquer work, jade, pottery and porcelain, glass, enamels, jewellery, textiles, and painting. To give a good and concise account of these various subjects is no small feat, and Dr. Bushell is perhaps the only man alive to-day who can be considered equal to the task. Those who receive much, however, are apt to sigh for more, and many students will wish that the proper names and technical terms could have been reproduced in the native character and not merely "romanised"—always an unsatisfactory method for a language so poor in sounds as Chinese. Into the technicalities of the handicrafts here described we cannot enter: this is a field in which Dr. Bushell reigns supreme. Our object is to deal with the literary side of the work, where we shall have to point out a certain number of errors that tend to disfigure an otherwise admirable compilation. And before taking these in their order, we feel bound to put in one more protest against carelessness and laxity in the matter of aspirates. Chinese scholarship has long passed the stage at which these could be either ignored or used as individual fancy might dictate. Such carelessness is much too noticeable in this book.

Vol. I. P. 37. The "monkey" feeding the phœnixes in fig. 12 has become a "winged sprite" on p. 41. So, the "triple jewelled fruit" of p. 41 is a "three-headed sceptre" on the next page.

P. 38. "Shang-ti" should be 玉皇上帝 Yü Huang Shang Ti.

P. 40. B.C. 194 is given as the 28th year of the reign of 秦始皇 Ch'in Shih-huang, whereas of course it is the first year of the reign of 惠帝 Hui Ti. Shih Huang-ti reigned only eleven years (B.C. 221—209). A line or two below, B.C. 233 should be B.C. 333, in the reign of 顯王 Hsien Wang.

P. 42. Tung Fang So should be Tung-fang So (a double surname).

P. 46. Mo Kao Wo should be Mo Kao K'u, the characters in fig. 25 being 莫高窟.

P. 47. "Kiuchou" is really 屈朮 Ch'ü Shu or 窟朮 K'u Shu.

P. 56. For "Emporer" read "emperor."

P. 66. It is quite incorrect to call Lamaism the State Church of the reigning Manchu dynasty.

P. 71. Gold and not copper is 金 *chin*, the metal *par excellence*.

P. 72. It is philologically impossible to analyse the character 銅 *t'ung* into its component parts so as to wrench it into signifying "mixed metal." The 同 is of course a mere phonetic.

P. 80. 鐘鳴鼎食 *Chung ming ting shih* does not mean "the bell sounds, the food is in the caldron, but "Bells are for sound, caldrons are for food."

Ibid. Incense was certainly used in China before the introduction of Buddhism, as may be seen on referring to the article 香 in the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng*.

P. 83, line 20. "Fig. 47" should be "fig. 48."

P. 85 (figs. 49, 50). According to M. Pelliot, the bowl is known to Chinese archaeologists *without* the inscription, which is doubtless of a later date.

P. 94. 鑑 *chien* is a much older term for "mirror" than 鏡 *ching*, which was first used under the Western Han.

P. 101. "Ts'ien Chiao" should be 錢鏐 *Ch'ien Liu*.

P. 107. Perhaps the worst blot in the whole book is this extraordinary mistranslation of the verse on a silver wine-cup (fig. 72):

A hundred cups inspired the poet Li Po,
A single bowl intoxicated the Taoist seer, Liu Ling:
Pray beware of a slip when full of wine,
A false step may mar the fair fame of a lifetime.

Hardly the sort of thing, on the face of it, that a Chinaman would inscribe on a wine-cup! The Chinese is written very plainly, and not in curious script, as Dr. Bushell states; and the real translation runs as follows:

百	杯	狂	李	白
一	醉	老	劉	伶
爲	得	酒	中	趣
方	留	世	上	名

Li Po could stand a hundred cups;
"Lao Tzŭ" Liu Ling was always drunk.
It is because they found joy in wine
That their names have been handed down.

Liu Ling was nicknamed after the Taoist sage because of an essay he wrote extolling the doctrine of Inaction, which caused him to miss his degree.

P. 117. It was not an *Emperor* who would not interrupt his game of chess to hear a general's urgent report; it was 謝安 *Hsieh An*, governor of Yang-chou in Kiangsu, who calmly went on playing *wei-ch'i* after having received a dispatch announcing the defeat of the invading enemy by his brother and nephew.

P. 118. *Ch'ang Huai* "Abode of happiness" seems to be a mistake for 懷暢 *huai ch'ang*, though here we feel the need of the Chinese characters, the inscription on the plaque in fig. 81 being illegible.

Vol. II. p. 22, line 4. For "1662" read "1644".

P. 39. There seems to be some confusion here between 米色 *mi sé*, straw-coloured, and 蜜色 *mi sé*, honey-coloured.

P. 49. 怡玉 *i yü* is wrongly rendered "ductile jade." 怡 does not mean ductile, and jade is one of the hardest and most brittle of minerals.

Ibid. 益右 *i yu* is not "Profit and prosperity." Dr. Bushell appears to have been in doubt, for on p. 88 of his *Oriental Ceramic Art* he translates the same characters "Profit and advance," which is equally incorrect. On the other hand, the latter work is right with "Eternal prosperity and enduring spring" for 永慶長春, while here, on p. 51, "Ever-flourishing enduring spring" is wrong.

P. 50. 巖竹造 *Hsieh chu tsao*, translated "Made for the Hsieh Bamboos," makes nonsense. *Hsieh Chu* must indicate the place of manufacture.

Ibid. 巖竹主人造 *Hsieh chu chu jên tsao* is "Made by, not for, the master of Hsieh Chu."

Ibid. 福祿壽 is rendered "Happiness, rank and longevity." But 祿 means not rank but official emolument, as is shown by the antithesis 祿爵 "salary and high rank."

P. 53. 在川知樂 "I know that they (i. e. fishes) rejoice in the water." This is very far-fetched, the obvious and better alternative being to take 知樂 together — "to feel pleasure." In his *Oriental Ceramic Art*, p. 102, Dr. Bushell says that the words are taken from a famous passage in Chuang Tzū. But that is not quite correct. 在川 does not occur at all in the passage in question (at the end of the chapter 秋水), nor is 知 there followed immediately by 樂.

P. 64. 胡 *Hu* did not split his name by any "curious conceit," for the surname 胡 is always described as the 古月 *Ku yüeh* Hu, perhaps in order to avoid confusion with the objectionable 狐 *hu*, fox.

P. 68. The inscriptions represented in fig. 83 are given in the wrong order: (1) should be (2), (2) should be (3), (3) should be (1). Moreover, 天相吉人 seems to mean "May God's Minister be propitious to men." 天相 is certainly not "the celestial sign," whatever that may be.

P. 81. Dr. Bushell is singularly unhappy in his translations of verse. He has made several bad blunders in the following lines: —

'Tis the first month of summer time, the leaves are all full blown,
 Their serried banks of shaded green o'erspread the jadeite sward;
 They say that here, on happy days, the phoenix comes to roost,
 But better, aye, in hour of ease, to plant the hazel nut.
 A little lad waits boiling tea, outside the harbour wall,
 A scholar high, with lute in case, crosses the rustic bridge.
 May the dryandra twin trees live for myriads of years! —
 The fire-stove on the screen will never want its pile of fuel.

The Chinese is:

清	和	時	節	葉	專	勻
櫛	櫛	緣	雲	覆	翠	茵
謾	說	禎	祥	棲	以	鳳
寧	須	冗	雜	樹	之	榛
小	童	烹	茗	空	庭	待
高	士	囊	琴	野	狍	循
比	侶	焦	桐	千	古	壽
屏	間	爨	下	攄	傳	薪

In the fourth moon the leaves are all of one hue,
 And hang like green clouds over the kingfisher-like lawn.
 Do not confine good augury to the tree on which the phoenix roosts,
 But rather allow the hazel to take its place among the rest.
 Meanwhile, a little boy, the tea made, is waiting in the empty kiosk,
 And a gentleman, lute in case, is crossing the rustic bridge....
 May those two lute-trees live for a thousand years,
 So that they may always supply fuel for the stove on the screen
 (and consequently burnt pieces for making new lutes).

Dr. Bushell has entirely missed the point of lines 3 and 4, as

well as the allusion, in lines 7 and 8, to the story of a lute made from a charred log of the *wu-t'ung* tree, which an enthusiast rescued from the flames for that purpose.

P. 101. It is not 萬壽 *wan shou* but 萬歲 *wan sui* which is the equivalent of the Japanese *banzai*.

P. 125. 天子古希 *T'ien Tzū Ku Hsi* is surely not "An Ancient Rarity of the Son of Heaven," but "The Emperor at the age of seventy." 古希 or 古稀 are two characters commonly used to denote the age of three score and ten, being taken from a line of the poet Tu Fu: "From of old until now men of seventy have been rare."

P. 138. *Pi shu shih nū*, "ladies in summer undress." The characters are not given, but are presumably 避暑士女, which would mean "Gentlemen and ladies taking shelter from the heat."

By the same Author:

- A Chinese-English Dictionary*, ryl 4to, pp. XLVI and 1415
Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio, 2 vols. cr. 8vo.
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PSYCHIC PHENOMENA IN CHINA

China has been described, by some flippant observer, as a country where four hundred million people live in daily terror of four hundred billion ghosts. Few subjects indeed have so completely commanded the attention of Chinese philosophers during the past twenty-five centuries, as that momentous question of world-wide interest, particularly associated with ghosts, and summed up by Carlyle as.... "The Whence, and—oh heavens!—the Whither?" The literature especially devoted to an elucidation of this topic is so voluminous that, to use a cant phrase, it could hardly be mastered in a lifetime; it certainly could not be adequately presented within the short limit of time which I now propose to occupy. But we may perhaps succeed in getting at the gist of Chinese beliefs in this direction, enough perhaps to appreciate the conclusions at which some of their greatest thinkers have arrived, in regard to the illimitable tracts of unknown which lie before this life and after it, and to the part, if any, which is played therein by what we call the human soul.

It is hardly surprising to find that the Chinese have not managed to evolve any very satisfactory theory as to the presence of life upon this earth. The earth itself, according to the classical explanation, which bears a curious resemblance in some of its details to the nebular theory, came into existence as follows. First of all there was Nothing; then, in time, by a process of limitation and concentration (not explained), Something, represented by a circular dot,

appeared. This dot revolved in space—no one says how long—until at length two centres were formed within it; and these again revolved around one another, always within the original circumference, each carrying with it half the area of the original dot. One half was male, the other female; one half was light, the other dark,—as seen in the familiar symbol of the Yin and the Yang. By a process of biogenesis (also unexplained), these two Powers produced the visible universe, including heaven, earth, and man. In this separation of the primordial unit into two, we have precisely the modern theory—also very much unexplained—of the development of unicellular into multicellular organisms; while rotation is an essential feature in the nebular hypothesis of modern days.

We may now start fair from birth in this world; though here again we shall have to digress for a moment. Many Chinese writers have held that when a man is born into the world, it is not necessarily his first appearance. He may have been here before. He has been reborn.

Hundreds of cases, bearing out the Chinese view, have been recorded in Chinese literature. None, so far as I know, date back quite to the Christian era; and it is more than probable that this belief is a phase of the theory of transmigration of souls, which was taken to China from the West. It is at any rate a theory which has been freely adopted by the Chinese, and is not altogether unknown among ourselves. It easily explains certain phenomena, actually experienced by many of us,—the seeming familiarity of some place we have certainly never visited before; the persistency in the mind of some scene we have certainly never set eyes on at all; the strange reminiscences evoked by some flower, by some sound, or by the senses of taste and of smell. Herein the West we have no scientific explanation of these almost uncanny experiences; the most recent theory, and perhaps the most ingenious,

is, that just as we inherit from our ancestors an ear for music, an eye for colour, or a taste for literature, so do we often inherit shadowy mental pictures and impressions from lives that were ended long before our own had begun. But that will scarcely explain all that the Chinese have to say.

There is the well-known classical instance—I say *classical*, because it is actually recorded in the dynastic history, 3rd century of our era, of 羊祜 Yang Hu. At the age of five, he asked his nurse to fetch his bracelet for him to play with. “You haven’t got a bracelet,” said the nurse. “Oh yes, I have,” he replied; “it is in a hole in Mrs Li’s mulberry tree.” And there sure enough a bracelet was found. Mrs Li was astounded, for she said that this bracelet had been lost by a son of hers who had died; from which it was inferred that Yang Hu had been her son in a previous birth.

Among other cases, there is one given in the 法苑珠林, where a dying youth told his mother that he felt he was going to reappear in a certain family; and his sceptical mother, in order to make sure, 以墨點兒右肘 tattooed a black spot on his right elbow. Later on, a son was duly born in the family indicated, and moreover had a black spot on his right elbow.

But our subject, just born, is awaiting us; and it matters little to the present investigation whether he may have been born before or not. We wish now to ascertain what views the Chinese hold as to the psychical composition of the little stranger.

It has been believed for many centuries, alike in ancient Greece and in modern England, that man is twofold; he consists of a physical body and a vivifying personality or soul. It was reserved to the late Mr. F. W. H. Myers to discover and to publish in his posthumous work, “Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death,” that man is really threefold. In addition to the body which we commonly see, and to the soul or personality attached to it

with which we may become acquainted in the usual way, there is really, in the background, another personality, with which we have, normally speaking, no acquaintance whatever, but which yet may manifest itself in a sense which, for want of a better term, we may call spiritualistic. These two personalities have been named by Mr. Myers the supraliminal or visible personality, and the subliminal or invisible personality, respectively. As Mr. Myers says,

"The supraliminal self does not comprise the whole of the consciousness or faculty within us. There exists a more comprehensive consciousness, a profounder faculty, which reasserts itself in its plenitude after the liberating change of death."

Mr. Myers adds,

"I do not indeed by using this term assume that there are two correlative and parallel selves existing *always* within each of us."

Now this is precisely what the Chinese do assume, and have assumed for many centuries past.

In the well-known commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals, a work usually assigned to the 5th century B. C., there occurs this passage:—

"When a man is born, that which he first develops is called the 魄 *p'ò*. After this, he develops its complement, which is called the 魂 *hun*."

These two words, transposed for euphony's sake, *hun p'ò*, have been in use from time immemorial as a name for the composite soul, the *p'ò* being equivalent to the supraliminal self, the visible personality interpenetrating and indissolubly attached to the body, the *hun* being the subliminal or invisible self, also interpenetrating the body, but not, as we shall see, indissolubly attached to it. Which reminds me, by the way, that the interpenetration of the material by what I may perhaps be allowed to call the spiritual, is an integral part of the Chinese theory of evolution. The whole universe

and its contents are informed—even this desk is informed—by a mysterious vital force or fluid, which the Chinese call 氣 *ch'i*, and which makes things what they are.

To return to the *hun p'o* or soul; how does it behave in its new-found tenement of clay? Its two parts are usually in combination, but not always. The *hun* has the power of leaving the body; in which case the body, still informed by the *p'o*, generally, not always, remains in a state of torpidity, suggestive of a cataleptic fit or trance. Once outside the body, the *hun* may be either visible or invisible; it may stay away permanently,—that is death; or it may re-enter the body, and continue the thread of life. Of this latter phenomenon a number of authentic cases are on record. One of the most amusing, not however authenticated, runs as follows.

A good old priest died, and his *hun* flew away; but it had not got far before it came across the dead body of a lively young nobleman, who had just been thrown from his horse. Into this somewhat incongruous body the old priest's *hun* entered; and the young man's body regained consciousness. Some awkward moments ensued, when the injured man was carried into the ladies' apartments, and when his various wives crowded around to sympathise. For although the physical frame was that of their husband, the intellectual and emotional faculties were those of a priest, accustomed to a celibate life and to a dietary of vegetables and tea. I need not dwell on the complications which arose. Finally, this composite being returned to the monastery where its soul had once lived as a priest, and succeeded in persuading the other priests that it was really their old master. Later on, the joint household became rather a show; for at the age of thirty this young body with its old soul had been a priest for no less than eighty years.

The *hun* again possesses, as stated above, the further power of throwing off its invisibility, and appearing to the world with its

original body, which may then be many miles away, thus presenting the phenomenon known as bilocation, or in other words solving the famous difficulty of Sir Boyle Roche, namely, how to be in two places at once—like a bird. The *hun* may appear, as suggested above, either before or after death. Sometimes the apparition is visible to all present, just as in a case recorded by Mr. Myers, when no fewer than six people saw the face of a dead man on the panel of a wardrobe. Sometimes it is seen only by the person specially interested, as in the case of Banquo's ghost. A very curious point, and one which has given much trouble to the thinking world in China, is that the *hun* always appears clothed; generally in a duplicate suit of the clothes worn by the deserted body. It was thus too that the shade of Patroclus appeared to his friend and avenger, Achilles, dressed, as Homer tells us, in such clothes as he usually wore: *τοῖα περὶ χροῖ' εἴματι ἕστο*.

When in ordinary life you talk to a friend, you are addressing his supraliminal self, that is, a body properly blended with its *p'o*; the *hun* being, so to speak, out of sight in the background. But when, for instance in London, you see, as people have seen, or say they have seen, the presentment of some one who you know is at that moment in Peking, then you are in the presence of his *hun* only, what Mr. Myers would call his subliminal self. The owner of the *hun* may be dead, or he may not.

There is a pretty story, assigned to the 2nd century B. C., which incidentally discloses the identity of the *hun* with Mr. Myers' subliminal self. A soldier youth and a beautiful girl fell in love, and 誓爲夫婦 plighted their troth. He went away to the wars, and was absent for nine years. At the end of the third year, the girl's parents forced her into marriage with another man, with the result that by the time three more years had elapsed she 悵悵而死 had died of a broken heart. When her lover returned, three

years later, he was overwhelmed with grief, and hurried at once to her grave. There, like another Laodamia, with much weeping and lamentation, he called her by name, praying that, if she really **有靈聖** enjoyed a spiritual existence, she would show him her face once more. As he prayed, the girl's *hun*—her subliminal self—passed forth from the still-closed tomb, and after a few words of recognition declared that she was not dead, and urged him to break open the tomb and her coffin at once. This he did, and soon managed to restore the girl to consciousness. They returned home as husband and wife, whereupon the late husband filed a plaint. The judge, however, **檢律斷之無條** not finding in the Penal Code any clause to meet the case, memorialised the Throne, and received a Rescript that the original lovers were to be left undisturbed.

Another curious case is that of a husband and wife. Here it is the *p'ö* which moves about, indissolubly attached, as you will remember, to the body, while the *hun* remains quiescent. One morning the wife got up, and left the bedroom, and shortly afterwards the husband also left the room. The wife, who had not seen her husband go out, on returning to the bedroom, found him still there under the bedclothes. Just then a servant came in, and said that the master wanted a hand-glass; whereupon the wife, thinking that the servant was lying, simply pointed to the bed. The servant protested, and rushed away and summoned the husband, who came back, and together with his wife examined the man under the bedclothes, and saw that the latter **正是其形** was really the counterpart of himself. Concluding that this was the husband's *hun*, they dared not wake it, **乃共以手徐徐撫牀** but stroked the bed gently with their hands, **遂冉冉入席而滅** until it sank into the bed-mat, and disappeared. In other words, it once more became blended, but not visibly, with the body and with the *p'ö*.

There is another interesting story of a *hun*, by 陳元祐 Ch'ên Yüan-yü of the T'ang dynasty, — this time it was the *hun* of a girl, which *hun* eloped with a lover, leaving the physical body informed by the *p'o* only, lying ill in bed. The parents were entirely hood-winked; and there the sick girl lay, a semi-conscious invalid, for several years, until the return of the runaway pair, who had been duly married, and were bringing home a couple of children. While the astonished parents were wondering what to make of it all, the girl in the bed got up, and went out to meet herself. The two fell into each other's arms; and there and then, in the presence of spectators, 翕然而合爲一體 they coalesced and became one, — one ordinary woman, 其衣裳皆重 dressed however in *two* complete suits of clothes.

Death from fright is explained by Chinese philosophers as 驚散神魂 the violent ejection of the *hun* or subliminal self from its association with the body and with the supraliminal self. An illustrative case is given of a tutor who waked from a sound sleep to find before him lighted candles, flowers, fruit, and paper-money, — the paraphernalia of a death-chamber, arranged as a joke by his pupils, who were watching to see the fun. "Good gracious," he cried, 我已死耳 "I must be dead!" After sobbing awhile, he went off to sleep again; but when the practical jokers came to look at him, he was really dead, the *hun*, according to the writer, being too effectually dispersed by the shock to be able 還體 to regain its tenement.

This dispersion, however, is not always so complete; just as one person will not die of a shock which is immediately fatal to another. The following is a case in point.

A golden vase being missing from the Palace, the chief attendant responsible was suspected of stealing it, and was condemned to death in the market-place as a common felon. Just as the

executioner's knife was about to fall, there came a reprieve; the vase had been found. The accused man subsequently deposed, that on going into the market-place he was in a state of abject terror, and that suddenly 覺身坐屋簷上 he found himself sitting on the eaves of a house, from which point he could see a man bound for immediate execution; further, that directly upon the arrival of the messenger, he found himself back in his body again. Here we have the *hun*, the subliminal and more ethereal portion of the soul, escaping from the body at the mere threat of death, and returning when all danger is over.

We must understand from the above accounts that there are cases of suspended animation, (such as trance, etc.) when the body still under the influence of the *p'o* is able to receive back and blend with the *hun*; and that there are other cases when the *p'o* ceases to be active, thus preventing the *hun* from forming that junction which constitutes life, and bringing about permanent separation,—in other words, death.

In one instance, which happened in A. D. 516, and is given in the History of the Sui Dynasty (五行志), the body of a beheaded criminal 不僵 remained in position while the head fell to the ground. The mouth was seen to move, and the eyes to open and shut. The *hun* may have fled; but the *p'o* was still sufficiently active to produce temporary movements.

In another case, mentioned in the 伽藍記, which occurred in A. D. 518, a Censor was beheaded for too strong language to the Throne. After execution, the eyes did not close, and 尸行百步 the body walked a hundred paces before it fell, — “a hundred” being of course figuratively used for “many.”

Very noticeable among Chinese characteristics is love of life. I will not stop to refute, in the presence of such an audience, the preposterous belief which still prevails, that a condemned man in

China, if possessed of means, can always, and for a moderate fee, find a substitute ready to take his place. My own experience was—and it is borne out by Chinese literature—that love of life is just as widespread in China as it is in this country. At any rate, scores of volumes have been written by the Chinese, showing how life may best be prolonged, illustrating, if anything, a very deep-seated desire to prolong it. Some think that certain forms of mild physical exercise provide the best safeguard against old age; and I remember that Liu Ming-ch'üan, the famous general and Governor of Formosa, once told me with pride that he made a point of taking 300 steps regularly every day.

Some sit motionless for hours, and carefully practise deep breathing. The philosopher Chuang Tzū, who flourished three centuries before Christ, tells us that the wondrous vitality of the ancients—there have always been “ancients” in China—was chiefly due to the fact that they drew their breath from their heels. Others, however, hold that if a man's moral and intellectual natures are well balanced, he will combat successfully the “slow and silent, but resistless sap,” by which, as the poet tells us, “Death urges his deadly siege.” For such a purpose, the pure, unworldly life of a hermit has always seemed to the Chinese to offer exceptional advantages; or again a life led strictly in accordance with the ordinances of the Book of Rites. These last two systems may be illustrated by a story which goes back to the 2nd century B. C.

單豹 Tan Pao retired from the world. He dwelt on a mountain, and drank at a brook. He wore no clothes from the loom, neither did he eat any of the five kinds of (artificially-grown) grain; and so, at seventy years of age, he still retained the complexion of boyhood. Then he fell in with a hungry tiger, who killed and ate him.

張毅 Chang I was all for rites and ceremonial. Whenever

he passed a palace or a temple in which any function was going on, he would hasten in; and if he saw a crowd gathering at a house, he would make a point of joining the party. He treated all his domestic servants and stable-boys 皆與之侑禮 on terms of absolute equality; yet he died young, of a fever. On these two cases the Chinese author comments, as follows. Pao Tan cultivated his interior, and a tiger ate his exterior; Chang I cultivated externals, and disease attacked his internals.

But supposing that all these methods fail, including prayers for the sick, as commonly offered up at Buddhist temples, it remains only to admit that after all life is what Taoist writers tell us it is,— a sunbeam passing through a crack, revealing indeed many minute organisms which had before been invisible, but gone ere we have time to appraise them. Or again, life is a sleep or a dream, and death is our awakening; an awakening, no more to the unsubstantiality of this world, but to reality in a higher state of existence. Only fools, according to Chuang Tzū, think that they are awake now.

Whenever this change does come, the Confucianist is supposed to face it with equanimity. Chu Hsi, the famous Confucianist of the 12th century, wrote —

生	時	平	安	由	得	我	
死	後	平	安	由	不	得	我
由	不	得	我	氏	要	在	
由	得	我	處	做			

My peace in this life depends upon myself,
 My peace in the next world does not.
 Why trouble about that which does not depend on me?
 Rather let me pay attention to that which does.

Another scholar on his deathbed contented himself with this couplet:—

平生無一事欺天
今日送百骸歸地

I ne'er have cheated Heaven since my birth;
And now I lay my bones in Mother Earth.

Liu Ch'ing-shih, a scholar of the 12th century, during his last days, ere his strength failed, would discourse to his disciples on the Confucian Canon. When on his deathbed, he was visited by the great Minister, Chou Pi-ta, who bade him dismiss his fears. "無慮 I have no fears," whispered the dying man, "可澄 to dismiss."

This attitude of quiet courage is by no means universal, especially as there are many recorded instances of actual visions of another and a brighter world, quite sufficient to give pause even to the most self-satisfied moralist. There is a story of a high official, who on his deathbed saw a vision of celestial beings beckoning to him from the sky. In another case, the attendants on a dying Minister 忽聞天鼓響 suddenly heard the sound of drums in the air, and 見天門雲光爛開 saw the heavens open to receive a personage in official dress, who passed into the glory beyond. On looking down again, they found that their Minister was dead. What they had seen was his departing *hun*.

Accordingly, we find certain persons taking precautions. One man, in order to make things as sure as possible, gave orders that he should be buried holding in his left hand the Confucian Classic of Filial Piety and the Buddhist *sūtra* of the Lotus of the Wonderful Law (*Saddharma Pundarika*), and grasping in his right hand the *Tao Tê Ching*, the Bible of modern Taoism. The three great religions, so to speak, of China were thus all and adequately represented.

It is noticeable that in earlier days, even before the introduction of Buddhism, the Paradise of the Chinese was in the skies;

the nether world, with all its reproduction in shadow of the characteristics of this life, and with all the tortures of what we call the Chinese Purgatory, belongs to more modern times. This idea of a celestial heaven was once strangely emphasised by a man who, as his funeral offering to the family of a dead friend, sent a parcel of rare feathers, 其意欲使死者飛揚 the idea being to enable the soul to fly.

Meanwhile, our subject is dead and buried, in terms which we all understand. I have lately read that it was customary in ancient China to bury the dead naked. Clothes seem to have been a later addition, to enable the dead to meet their friends without inconvenience in the next world. One ancient worthy wished 以窾木爲槨 to be buried in a hollow tree, as he declared had been customary in olden times, this method being best adapted 下不亂泉上不泄臭 to secure both the air above and the water below from any risk of pollution.

But in any case, what of the *hun* and the *p'o*?

We read in the Book of Rites, which has an authority of at least 2,000 years,

"The *hun*, which is associated with *ch'i*, vital force, goes back to heaven; the *p'o*, which is associated with the physical frame, goes back to earth."

Chu Hsi discards the idea of a twofold soul, and says that *hun* is a name for the vital force, and *p'o* for the body. He adds, — "Man, endowed with a limited amount of vital force, 須有箇盡時 must necessarily come to an end. When he does, his *hun* ascends to heaven, and his *p'o* reverts to earth; that is death. The hot part goes up, and the cold part goes down." He also says, "Sometimes the vital force fails before the body fails, and *vice versa*. For instance, a certain one (meaning himself) has lately become hard of hearing, and subject to loss of memory; that is an instance

of the body decaying before the vital force." But Chu Hsi continues, "人死終歸於散 When a man dies, he is dispersed, 然亦未便散盡 though not so utterly dispersed but that there are good grounds for hoping 祭祀有感格 to affect him by means of sacrificial worship. A person, however, once dispersed by death, 不可復聚 can never come together again (as a human being). The Buddhists indeed say that a man dies, and becomes a ghost, which ghost becomes a man again; but this amounts to arguing that 天地間常只是許多氣 in the universe there is a fixed amount of vital force 來來去去 which comes and goes, and that 便不由造化生生 Nature (the creative Power) has nothing to do with production,—必無是理也 which is absurd."

From this it may fairly be argued that Chu Hsi — China's great materialistic philosopher, as he has been called,—was certainly a believer in the immortality of the soul. His objection to the Buddhist doctrine of metempsychosis seems to be based, so far as I can follow his reasoning, on the absence from such a system of any part to be played by the Yin and the Yang, by the interaction of which principles all things, both in the animal and the vegetable kingdoms, are continually being reproduced.

I may digress a moment to mention that Chu Hsi quotes a case of a man whose body after three years became changed into fine jade. Having died the death of a patriot, his *p'o*, we are told, instead of disappearing in the earth, underwent a process of petrification, his spirit imparting to the dead clay a power of resistance which it would not otherwise have possessed.

So too Han Wên-kung, in a famous funeral elegy, cries out in impassioned tones,—

"Not into foul earth, but into the pure essence of gold and gems, has thy dear form been changed."

One poet, 陳寡言 Ch'ên Kua-yen of the T'ang dynasty, who evidently believed with the Taoists that all life comes from, and returns to, some dazzling centre away in the infinite, wrote the following farewell words:—

我	本	無	形	暫	有	形
偶	來	人	世	逐	營	營
輪	廻	債	負	今	還	畢
搔	首	脩	然	歸	上	清

Originally formless, I have
temporarily a form,
And chance has thrown me into
the bustling world of man.
The wheel turns, and the long-standing
debt must now be paid;
So I scratch my head and wing
my way back to the Pure Serene.

Speaking generally then, we must conclude that to the Chinese people death means the flight of the *hun* to heaven, and the descent of the *p'o* into earth, coupled with the dissolution of the body into clay. Is that all? Is finality permanently concealed from us behind an impenetrable veil? Is there?—

A land of souls beyond that sable shore—

where once again, as the poet continues, we

May hear each voice we feared to hear no more,
Behold each mighty shade revealed to sight,
The Bactrian, Samian sage, and all who taught the right.

Do the dead ever return? Are there spirits?

On these last questions the opinions of Western philosophers are divided. China, however, answers them with an emphatic Yes. The imagination of the Chinese—a highly imaginative people—almost runs riot in this direction.

Wang T'an was very intimate with a certain Buddhist priest,

with whom he used often to discuss the probabilities of a future state; and it was agreed between them that whoever died first should inform the other of the real state of affairs. A year later, the priest appeared, and said, 'I am dead; the punishments and happinesses of a future state are not inventions. Hasten to repent, that you may rise to the joys of the blest.' He then disappeared, and soon afterwards Wang T'an died too.

With what happens in the nether world, the Hades of the Greeks and Romans, we have, properly speaking, no concern here, our interest being concentrated rather upon ideas indigenous to China. An exception perhaps may be made in the following case, which is curious as showing how the Chinese invariably surround foreign importations with a flavour all their own.

A certain man who died, on reaching the world below, was set to do clerk's work; but 見堆案繞壁 appalled at the sight of the vast masses of archives he was told to copy, he pretended to have writer's cramp, and was allowed to return to earth. On recovering consciousness, however, he found 右手遂廢 that his right arm was permanently paralysed; the moral of this being that it does not do to sham even in the infernal regions.

Are the spirits of the dead near to us? is a question to which varying answers have been given by Chinese philosophers.

In an old book of family records, the author (who is unknown to me) tells how his great-uncle in his last illness declared that death was no more than going into the next room; and how finally, on his deathbed, the dying man pointed at the window, and said, “吾之死止如隔此紙爾 When I am gone, I shall be no farther from you than as it were the other side of that paper,”—which of course everybody here knows is a common substitute for glass.

Sometimes the spirit is even closer. There is a story of a

maidservant, who when left alone with a corpse, tried furtively to appropriate to her own use some of the funeral clothing. The body, however, suddenly began to get very hot; and the terrified woman fled.

Let us go back to Confucius. It is well known that one of the four topics on which he refused to discourse was the existence and rationale of spirits. The term *hun p'ò*, soul, does not seem ever to have been employed by him. We are told that when he offered sacrifices, he did so with the same earnestness and with the same sense of solemnity as if the spirits were present, — a phrase which is splendidly ambiguous, and leaves us quite in the dark as to whether he believed that the spirits were present or not. His countrymen, however, long before his own days, did believe, as the majority of them still believe, that the spirits of the dead do indeed revisit the glimpses of the moon, and play an important part in human affairs. In the *Odes*, we are warned to be careful; for spirits come upon us unawares, sometimes to bless and protect, at other times to exact retribution for evil deeds. Chinese literature teems with examples, similar in every way to those in Mr. Myers' book, of spirits which have manifested themselves at important junctures to friends and relatives. Let me quote an example from Mr. Myers to show exactly what I mean. He has recorded a case of a guilty father-in-law, whose spirit appeared after death to ask pardon for wrongs committed. "I seized," says the forgiving son-in-law, "the ghost's hand, which was long and cold, and I shook it."

One Chinese philosopher has said of all the phenomena of this life, necessarily therefore including spirits, **彼之有無在此不在彼** Whether they exist objectively or not, depends on us and not on them." This dictum, which makes of spiritual apparitions merely subjective phenomena, has been popularised into the well-known saying, "Bogey only appear to those who believe in them."

According to Liu Hsiang of the 1st century B.C., a disciple asked

Confucius, saying, “**死人有知無知也** Are the dead conscious or not?” Confucius replied, “If I say that the dead are conscious, I fear that filial sons and dutiful grandsons **妨生以送死也** will neglect the living in order to do honour to the dead; and if I say that the dead are not conscious, then I fear that unfilial sons and undutiful grandsons **棄不葬也** will leave their parents’ corpses without burial. My son, if you would know whether the dead are conscious or not, **死徐自知之猶未晚也** it will be time enough to find out when you go among them yourself.”

A certain Chinese Judge who felt that his end was approaching, said to some friends, “**所恨未知死後佳否耳** I only regret that I do not know if the next world is a state of happiness or not.” A scholar who occupied one of the lower seats, at once declared that it was undoubtedly a state of great happiness; whereupon the Judge looked at him in amazement, and asked him how he knew that to be so. “If the next world were not a state of happiness,” replied the scholar, “the dead would one and all hurry back again; but as no dead men ever do come back, **是以知其佳也** we must conclude that they are enjoying themselves where they are.” At this, the whole party burst into a laugh, in which, as we read in our own law reports, the Judge himself joined.

But it is time to bring this desultory sketch to a close. The chief point I desire to establish this evening is that the theory of a twofold soul, as elaborated by Mr. Myers, was anticipated in China many centuries ago.

[This paper was read at a meeting of The China Society on 21st March, 1907.]

NOTES ON BOOKS.

Quite a number of books on Chinese topics, interesting and otherwise, have recently been placed on the market. Under the title of "Early Chinese History," with the alarming sub-title of "Are the Chinese Classics Forged?" Mr. H. J. Allen boldly challenges the literary world to a combat in which he certainly gives long odds to his opponents. The pages, however, of *Adversaria Sinica* are not intended for book-reviews in the ordinary sense of the term, but they are rather for the discussion of linguistic and other questions arising out of the interpretation of Chinese texts. Notices of books, as found in newspapers nowadays, are mostly worthless; for the simple reason that if a book is unfavourably reviewed, the publisher, whose money is at stake, will withdraw his advertisements from the column of the offending journal.

On one occasion, being asked to review a wretched hash of a great subject, I sent in a critique which was promptly paid for, but never published. On another occasion, in response to a similar request, I thought it fair to write and say that I could only notice the work in question in terms which the newspaper might not care to publish. For this I was profusely thanked by the editor, who told me that the author was also an occasional contributor, and of course it would not be desirable to offend him. Authors, therefore, who send their books to me should understand that I care only to raise points of interest as above stated, always drawing attention to any apparent inaccuracies, in the hope that the author's statement may either be

verified or recognised as erroneous, the result in each case being that Sinology moves onward in consequence.

The object of Mr. Allen's book, namely, to show that the whole body of the Confucian Canon is one gigantic forgery, is not the first effort of its kind. Father Hardouin, S. J., who lived in the 17th and 18th centuries, maintained in his *Chronologicon* that all classical literature, including the writings of the Christian Fathers, had been written to order, in other words, forged.

There are several minor points in Mr. Allen's book which invite discussion. On p. 40 he says that

the country of the 交趾 crossed toes, is Annam, so called because it is pretended that the great toes of the inhabitants cross each other when their feet are placed side by side.

"Cette fable," says Professor Chavanues in his *Mémoires Historiques*, "est répétée à satiété par les commentateurs chinois." Some few have traced the term to the fact that the sexes in the said country used to bathe together; but the great majority are on the side of "parted toes," derived from the separation of the big toe from the rest of the foot, like a thumb. Professor Parker declares (*China*, p. 209) that he himself noticed this peculiarity; but Chinese drawings of the people fail to give any indication of this, and, as Professor Chavannes says,

M. des Michels fait remarquer avec raison que les Annamites ne présentent point cette particularité physiologique.

It seems to me that "parted toes" is, if anything, several degrees weaker than "crossed toes." For 交手 means to cross the arms, and 交脛 means to cross the legs, there being actually a nation of that name recorded and figured in Chinese literature as having crossed legs. In fact, all the above explanations are probably moonshine, and the meaning of the term remains unknown.

"Chinese Thought," by Dr. Paul Carus, is a compilation from the writings of others, and contains nothing new, except new mistakes, in addition to those of the authors quoted. Dr. Carus is perhaps not at his best when he tells us (p. 55) that

the professional diviners who practise *fêng shui* are called *sien-shêng*, 'the elder born,' which is a title of respect and has been translated professor.

Or, when (p. 58) he translates 羅盤 *lo-pan* (sic) by "net-tablet," and 盤式 *pan-shih* (sic) by "disk-norm," apparently forgetting that on p. 40 he had already given us "盤古 P'an-Ku = basin ancient, and 盤固 P'au-Ku = basin-solid," of which he erroneously says,

both are homophones. *i. e.*, they are pronounced the same way.

Then (p. 154) we have such mistakes as "China's greatest poets, Li Pai, Tu Mu, and Pai Lu T'ien." Again, residents in China will be amused to hear that

a Chinaman cannot defraud a foreigner without being severely punished, but if a Chinaman be cheated by a European or perhaps an American trader, he has no redress whatever. The wronged Chinaman can go to the ambassador (!) or minister of the nation to whom the man who beat or cheated him belongs, but the ambassador has been sent to protect his countrymen, not to sit in court over them and punish them.

But the funniest blunder of all is perhaps to be found on p. 178, in connection with the Tai Ping (*sic*) rebellion. Dr. Carus tells us that there were two leaders

of special prominence, Tien (*sic*) Teh (Heavenly Virtue), a person who claimed to be a descendant of the ancient Ming dynasty, and Hung Hsiu Ch'üan, a Christian who called himself Tien (*sic*) Wang, or Heavenly King.

The fact, of course, is that T'ien Teh and Hung Hsiu-ch'üan were one and the same person, T'ien Teh being simply his year-title. Finally, among his illustrations Dr. Carus reproduces several entirely out-of-date absurdities, such as (p. 142) "The Pailoo gate at Amoi," in which the Chinese characters are represented by mere scribble.

This class of illustration was good enough for the first edition of "The Middle Kingdom," but will scarcely find a market now.

The 字典標目, "A Guide to the Dictionary," by Thomas Jenner, Member of the China Society, is apparently meant to illustrate the application of Stokes' mnemonic system to the Chinese and Japanese languages, which system I once tried myself and found wanting. Mr. Jenner is at great pains to give us a key to the Radicals, which no one in his senses ever thinks now of committing to memory in the old-fashioned style of Wade and others. Then follow more Keys, to the dynasties, etc. Professor Parker, to whom this book is dedicated, should have been asked to look over the proofs. Mistakes abound; *e. g.* (p. 62) 或 for 咸, 續 for 緒; (p. 63) 始皇帝 Che-wang-te, 平帝 Ping-te; (p. 64) Chiu-lien ch'êng 九鍾城, and 莫夫嶺 Mo-t'ien-ling; so that the beginner, if he is foolish enough to begin with this book, will have a sufficiently bad time. Let us hope that, as Mr. Jenner says in his motto from the *Shu*, 惟狂克念作聖 the foolish, by thinking, may become wise, and that there will be no further issue of this work, already in its second edition.

"The Chinese Language, and how to learn it," by Sir Walter Hillier, may be divided into three parts, namely, 36 pages of introduction, 136 pages of practical exercises, and 91 pages of Radicals and vocabularies. If the first and last parts had been omitted, and pp. 73 to 81, on grammar, had been struck out of the middle, we should have had a short primer of Chinese colloquial which, barring a good many mistakes in tones, might fairly have been recommended on its merits to a beginner. Part 1, as above, which carries us back to the Stone Drums, contains some serious mistakes. On p. 1 we are told that the 六書故 is a "treatise," and that it

was translated by Mr. L. C. Hopkins. It is of course an extensive dictionary, of which Mr. Hopkins translated the preface. On pp. 32, 33, devoted to instruction in writing characters, we are told that

福 *fu*², prosperity, is a character with which every Chinese, literate or illiterate, is familiar; it is the best, or one of the best-known characters in the language, and it is in evidence on every doorway at the new year time, not to mention other occasions, in every place where the Chinese script is known. This is how it is written,—

or more precisely, how it is *not* written; for I grieve to say that Sir W. Hillier, patiently labouring out the character, stroke by stroke, wrongly brings it under the Radical 衣 clothes, instead of under 示 divine manifestation. It is also wrongly written in the passage above quoted, for which purpose a faulty character seems to have been specially provided by the printer.

The translation of the *Lun-Hêng*, by Professor Forke, was a serious work to undertake and to carry through. The author added to his labours by adopting English as the language into which he would render these essays of the first century after Christ. German sinologues cannot yet work for the German public alone; the market is too small for their enterprises to be financially successful. In any case, Chinese philosophy finds few readers. I cannot say that I made a fortune out of Chuang Tzŭ, the translation of which occupied the best part of two years. The present volume, which does not complete the work, runs to 577 pages; it would therefore be, to say the least, unusual if no points open to discussion were to be found. Over and above the corrections under Errata and Addenda, there are a good many others to be made, such as aspirates left out and wrongly put in; *e.g.* p. 10, last line but one *tsung* for 叢 *ts'ung*; and p. 39, line 10, *Ch'uang* for 莊 *Chuang*; while on pp. 208, 209, 鄭 is six times wrongly written *Ch'êng*. In

this connection it may be mentioned that on p. 64, chapter 1, line 1, we have *K'uei-chi* for 會稽. On line 5 of the same page we have *Kuei-chi*, which is corrected in the *Errata* to *K'uei-chi*. So far as I know, 會 is here correctly read *kuei*⁴, and thus it has stood for over fifteen years in my Chinese-English Dictionary, without any protest from the critics. Playfair gives *kuei*; Chavannes *koei*; less accurate writers have thought it was *hui*. Then again, Professor Forke elects to write *Ssü Ma Ch'ien* and *Ssü Ma Hsiang Jn*, which does not help students to recognise *Ssü-ma* as a double surname, while in any case it is a pity to depart, for no reason, from an old-established custom. So, on p. 379, note 2, "*Han-shih-wai-ch'uan*," the last character being 傳, is a very awkward mistake to make and to leave uncorrected. It is a mistake which occurs all through Lord Crawford's Catalogue and Number Key, in spite of revision by Professor Douglas.

On p. 128, Wang Ch'ung says, "In the text of the Six Classics," and Professor Forke adds as a note, "We now speak of the Five Classics," etc. But so does Wang Ch'ung on p. 86, line 3 from foot, and the reader is left to reconcile this discrepancy himself. Throughout his work, Professor Forke styles *Ssü-ma Ch'ien* the "Grand Annalist;" though if one thing has been established more certainly than any other by Professor Chavannes (*Mém. Hist.*, ch. 1), it is that 太史公 should not be rendered Grand Annalist, but "Grand Astrologer."

On p. 100, we read

Ceremonies originate from a want of loyalty and good faith, and are the beginning of confusion.

In a note, Professor Forke says, "This argument is quite 'Taoist.'" It is indeed; and if Professor Forke will look into that patently spurious work, the *Tao Tê Ching*, ch. XXXVIII, he will find it in all its glory, though Wang Ch'ung gives no hint of this,—for

obvious reasons, which however will not appeal to Professor Parker. Similarly, the following sentences on p. 98 require revision:

The people resemble fish and beasts. High virtue governs them as easily as one fries small fish.

These words are made up from two truncated apophthegms by Lao Tzū, now found in chs. 38 and 60 of the *Tao Tê Ching*, and the last sentence 上德治之若烹小鮮 means that the people ought to be governed in the same way that small fish ought to be cooked; the former must not be over-governed, just as the latter must not be overcooked. The word "easily" spoils the sense completely. On p. 115 we have "Fan Sui" four times, and on p. 147 three times repeated as a transliteration of 范雎, which is also "Fan Sui" in the Index. This was one of Mayers' mistakes, being so given in his Chinese Reader's Manual. But there is no excuse for its perpetuation at this late date.

On p. 332, note 4, as the explanation of finding 胡 for 鬪, as well as for 湖, we read,

In ancient times only the phonetic part of a character was often written, and the radical left out.

The correct explanation, however, seems to be that the radicals were only inserted at a later date, when it became necessary to write with precision; they cannot be said to have been "left out," as at the present day, when an archaic style is often affected.

On p. 335, we have, "There is a village called 勝母 *Van-quish Mother*; and on p. 445, "Tsêng Tse declined to enter into a village called *Mother's Defeat*." The text is the same in both cases, but neither of Professor Forke's renderings give the true meaning, which is "Better-than-a-Mother."

On p. 341, we read that 文摯 Wên Chih

cannot have lived later than the 4th century B.C., for he is mentioned in Lieh Tse.

But if there is one book which is universally recognised as an egregious forgery, and which even Professor Parker cannot champion, it is the pretended work of Lieh Tzū, whose biography is not given in the 史記 *Shih chi*, and who was a figment of Chuang Tzū's fertile brain.

The work of translation has been performed, with reservations, in a satisfactory manner. To translate 詩亡 by "the Odes were forgotten," as on p. 457, is a quite unnecessary mistake, as it had been already correctly translated by Legge, "the Odes ceased to be made,"—the only rendering possible in the 三字經: 詩既亡, 春秋作. In like manner, "Ti Ku had a double tooth" (p. 304) for 帝嚳駢齒, should read, "Ti K'u (not Ku) had joined teeth," *i. e.* his teeth were all in one solid block. But as a specimen of those translations in regard to which I should join issue with Professor Forke, the following passage may be considered.

On pp. 218, 219, we read how Wang Mang desecrated the graves of two Empresses, who had been buried at an interval of 900 years apart; and how from one of these graves a stench came out which killed the Governor of Lo-yang on the spot, while from the other a flame burst forth, and burned several hundred people to death. When, however, the grave of the famous First Emperor was desecrated, nothing happened! If then the spirit of a mighty Emperor could do nothing in such a case, how can we believe that the spirits of two women could perform miracles? The text goes on, —

變神非一、發起殊處、見火
聞臭則謂丁傅之神誤矣

They are believed to have become spirits, but not in the same way, and to have shown their powers in different places. People saw flames, and smelled bad odour. Consequently the assertion that both became spirits is erroneous.

The above conveys next to no meaning; but if the paragraph be

read as I have punctuated it, Wang Ch'ung's argument becomes clear, as follows: —

There was no uniformity in these spiritual manifestations, and they occurred in different places. Therefore, to attribute the fire seen and the stench smelt to the spirits of Ting and Fu, is a mistake.

Volume XXXVIII of the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society contains the following passage (p. 72) in reference to 蠱 *Ku*: —

Giles says that 'it is a virulent poison prepared by putting all kinds of poisonous insects and reptiles together in a box, and letting them eat each other (sic) until only one remains.' This definition is incomplete.

Then comes a long rigmarole explaining why my definition is incomplete. But if Mr. E. T. Williams, the writer, will consult the 洗冤錄 *Hsi yüan lu*, Book III, p. 37, he will find that I had nothing to do with the definition beyond translating it as faithfully as I was able. In 1873 I translated the whole of the above work, and half of it was published in the *China Review*, vol. III, including the passages given by Mr. Williams on pp. 87, 88, 89. The second half is still, and likely to remain, in manuscript. Mr. Kingsmill's valuable note on p. 220, in which he successfully identifies the 簫翟 (correctly 笛) with the double flutes (ξεύγη) of ancient Greece, should be read in connection with p. 119 of *Adversaria Sinica*, and verified by reference to Rich's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities, p. 664. The 簫, as we are told in the Odes, was held in the left hand, and is therefore the αὐλὸς γυναικῆϊος or treble; the 翟 was held in the right hand, and is the αὐλὸς ἀνδρῆϊος or bass. This important identification, forming another link between ancient China and ancient Greece, deserves more than a passing notice. Mr. Kingsmill's suggestion, too (p. 221), on the origin of the term Jiu jitsu, "the art of the Avars," should be added on p. 137.

"Chinese Metallic Mirrors," by Professor Hirth, is a reprint from the Boas memorial volume, and like all this writer's work, it is of a very interesting character. But I cannot accept his new rendering, on p. 215, of

人無於水監、當於民監

One should not (have one's own image) reflected in the water, but one should have other folks' (images) reflected.

The saying seems to me to mean,

Men should not go to water for their reflections, but to other people.

That is, they should judge how they must appear to others by observing how others, under similar circumstances, appear to them; by such means they will obtain right guidance. The words cannot mean, as might appear, "see ourselves as others see us."

On p. 234 we have

以鏡自照見形容 以人自照見吉凶

By having ourselves reflected in a mirror we see a face; by having ourselves reflected in mankind, we see the future [literally, "good and bad luck"].

This is a legend on a mirror; and in my opinion the real meaning is,

Looking at ourselves in a mirror,
we see our form and face;
Looking at ourselves in others,
we see our excellencies and defects.

[The character 鏡, by the way, always appears in the Chinese text with 見 as the lower portion on the right.]

This rendering is borne out by another mirror-legend, not given by Professor Hirth:—

人徒鑒於鏡、止於見形、 鑒人可以見情

Man vainly looks into a mirror, for he only sees his outward form; by looking at others, he will be able to see his inward self.

On p. 240 (note 2), Professor Hirth adopts Mayers' date of 王充 Wang Ch'ung's death; namely, A. D. 90. The text quoted says 永元中 "in the middle of the Yung yüan period," that is, between A. D. 89 and 104. This could scarcely be 90; and in my Biographical Dictionary I set down A. D. 97, a date which is now supported by Professor Forke.

On p. 244, Professor Hirth says, "I have not been able to find out who 吾子行 Wu Tzi-hang was." His record will be found in the 萬姓統譜. His name was 吾衍 Wu Yen, and his style was Tzū-hang. He was a native of 仁和 Jen-ho in Chebkiang. He gave himself up to study and teaching, and lived in an upper chamber, having his pupils below. The usual amusing stories are told of his treatment of visitors. He was known as 貞白先生 the Chaste and Spotless Teacher. No list of his works is given. Professor Hirth's account of theseo-called magic mirrors is extremely interesting and valuable. On p. 246 he mentions the following inscription on one of these mirrors:

而 日 而 月 而 內 而 金
而 清 而 明 而 照 而 心

and adds that

the character 而 seems to be a mere ornamental expletive, inserted for the purpose of puzzling the reader.

Professor Hirth tells us that in similar inscriptions 而 is explained by 天 heaven, day; but as that helps to no particular meaning here, I venture to suggest the following explanation.

The character 而 has other senses besides "and," the copulative particle, the only one quoted by Professor Hirth. Two of its meanings are "like" (= 如), and "thou" (= 爾); and with the aid of these keys we arrive at a very natural and intelligible legend for a magic mirror, to wit,—

Like the sun, like the moon, like water, like gold, be thou clear and bright, and reflect (what is in) thy heart.

The character 內 stands of course for 內.

Various causes have hitherto prevented me from looking at all closely into the two fine quartos, published in 1907, under the title of "Ancient Khotan," by M. Aurel Stein. I have now repaired this error of omission, and am prepared to suggest a few corrigenda (other than those given on pp. XV, XVI) in the strictly Chinese references, — the part of course in which I am specially interested, and on which alone I have any claim to be heard. Mr. Stein himself makes no pretension to any knowledge of Chinese; and in that sense his responsibility hardly extends to the few points I am about to raise.

P. X. — "The encyclopaedia of the *Pien i tien*," and p. 151, "In Book LV of that vast encyclopaedia the *Pien i tien*." But he 邊裔無 *Pien i tien* is only a part of the geographical section of a really vast encyclopaedia, known as the 圖書集成, a copy of which stands in the British Museum.

P. 151. — "The name of the capital Kia-che (Chia-shih, 迦瑟), which I am unable to trace." 瑟 here seems to be a mistake for 師, as 迦師 actually stands for Kāshgar.

P. 167. — 扞 *han* is a misprint for 扞 *yü*.

P. 171. — "*Chi-shih* 言十式." Read 計式.

P. 179. — "Two other wines, violet and blue in colour." These colours are taken from Rémusat's *Ville de Khotan*. The Chinese terms are 紫 and 青, which would be properly purple (*i. e.* claret colour) and pale green. The latter of these would very probably be koumiss, to which this character has actually been applied.

P. 179 (note). — "The Chinese term 州 *chou*, city." This character is indeed defined in the 周禮 *Chou li* as "a collection of 2500

houses," but it can hardly be said ever to have the meaning of "city" in literature, and the ordinary rendering "district" would seem more appropriate here.

P. 278.—The "curious sugar-loaf hat," figured in Plates 59 and 62, may still be seen in China.

P. 432.—For "Hsin Li-ch'an" read "Hsin Li-ch'uan." The decipherment of these characters by Professor Chavannes is not quite satisfying. As seen in the photograph on Plate XI, a portion of the sgraffito, which is written vertically, reads clearly enough 国使口口利川; that is to say, there is exactly room for two characters where Professor Chavannes gives us only one which he is compelled to extend over the double space. Not only that, but in order to work in 辛 *hsin*, it becomes necessary to write it in a very unusual way, namely, with four horizontal strokes instead of three, a most unlikely proceeding on the part of a person who wrote the vulgar 国 for 國. What Professor Chavannes regards as the top of *hsin*, which fills the first of my blanks above, seems to me to be 之; and what he regards as the lower half of *hsin*, admittedly 丰, seems to me to be a substantive character. Further, as we see the writer favoured abbreviated characters, this last may very well stand for 豐, which is also a surname.

P. 512.—With regard to the famous forgeries of Islām Ākhūn, Mr. Stein says that "mere twists of paper" employed for the fastenings of books, "would *a priori* have justified the gravest suspicions as to their genuineness." But "mere twists of paper" are characteristic of cheap Chinese bindings, and are extensively used for that purpose at the present day.

Turning now to vol. II, Plates 50, 89, and 90, I do not see that sufficient pains have been taken to read the inscriptions on the seals and coins there reproduced. Of A. 004. b Mr. Stein says, "finely engraved with what may be Chinese lapidary characters or

fret." The character appears to be a rather fanciful 尙, which is sometimes used in the sense of Imperial.

A. 001. c., "fret device." It is a common ornamental way of writing the character 萬 *wan* myriad.

M. 001. a., "Bronze seal bearing badly engraved Chinese(?) characters." The characters may look badly engraved in the photograph, for it is printed upside down and may thus have defied all attempts at decipherment. Turned the right way round, it becomes interesting at once, and the interest increases step by step. To begin with, we find the character 門, not badly engraved, at the bottom; and as this is not a classical character, we may take the liberty of writing down, hypothetically, 關 *kuan*, a pass, for which it is used as an abbreviation. With a little trouble, the top character can be identified as 玉 *yü*, jade; and we are now left with a difficult middle character, which is so close to an old form of 壘 that we may well put it on trial. The question now arises, Does 玉壘關 offer anything appropriate as well as intelligible in the circumstances? The reader may judge this for himself, when he learns that the Yü-lei kuan was a pass on the frontier of Shansi, with a wide view extending towards Tibet, on the highroad to Khotan. Of L. 003, Mr. Stein says, "*Obr.* shows in cameo one of the hundred forms of the character 壽 = 'longevity' (Dr. Bushell). "Hundred" is of course figuratively used for "many," and there are certainly not one hundred recognised ways of writing any Chinese character, though little books may be bought actually showing this huge number of forms (faked) not only of this character, but also of 福 happiness. The well-known 六書分類 gives as many as 55 ways of writing "longevity," but not one of those bears the faintest resemblance to the character on L. 003. The latter seems to resolve itself easily into two complete Chinese words, written almost in everyday script, namely 丞 and 宋, and

is capable of interpretation as "Assisting Sung," or (= 承) "Receiving appointment [from the House of] Sung."

Of the Chinese coins, with the exception of those which are quite illegible, only one presents much difficulty, to wit, No. 5; the rest are clear enough. Dr. Bushell suggests 方 for the troublesome character on the left of this coin, but I can find no such form in any numismatic work, Chinese or foreign, within my reach. It is, without much doubt, an old form of 金 metal, gold, money; and the two characters may well mean "Khotan money," referring to some local mint.

No. 11 is wrongly transliterated on pp. 205, 574, and 579, as "*Hou ch'üan*;" it should be "*Huo ch'üan*,"—a small difference, but an important one, as both sounds exist in Chinese.

Nos. 36 and 37 are identified by Dr. Bushell as belonging to the period "Yüan-yü (1086—93 A. D.);" but the character on the right of 36 could not possibly be 祐, and to my eye is clearly 豐, thus giving "Yüan-fêng (1078—85 A. D.)," as the correct rendering.

With regard to No. 37, there must be some confusion. Dr. Bushell, as said above, classes it with No. 36; yet the characters on it are plainly 宣和通寶 *i. e.* "Hsüan-ho (1119—26 A. D.)," the two parts of *ho* being, as often, transposed.

No. 39 is given as "Shêng-sung (1101 A. D.),"—a term which does not exist either as year-title or style of reign. The characters are 崇寧 Ch'ung-ning, and the date is 1102—06 A. D.

No. 40, with an erroneous transliteration "Tsung Ning," belongs to the same period.

PHRENOLOGY, PHYSIOGNOMY, AND PALMISTRY.

Phrenology, as a science, has been familiar to the Chinese for many centuries past, and it is worth remarking that the earliest notice of it in Chinese literature—by a famous philosopher known as 荀子 Hsün Tzū, of the third century B.C.—is 非相篇 a denunciation of its principles and practice as charlatanism and humbug. Hsün Tzū declared that

形相雖惡而心術善無害爲君子也 although a man's appearance might be bad from a physiognomist's point of view, yet if his principles were good, he would not be far from perfection.

The ingenious author of the 論衡 *Lun hêng*, on the other hand, who was a thorough sceptic as regards spiritualism, maintained that a man's destiny could be predicted from his 骨體 physical frame, and he quotes a number of instances in which great men of past times have been distinguished by recognised peculiarities of face or person. This attack was directed especially against those quacks who began to stretch the function of phrenology beyond the outward expression of emotions and intellectual faculties on the surface of the head, to prophecy and directions for guidance in regard to the future of each individual. How far he succeeded may be gauged from the fact that in any town in China, at the present day, may be found "professors" of phrenology, who, for a small fee, will examine your head and advise you on marriage or other risky investments.

In regard to the head, Chinese investigators, especially in recent times, have always shown a marked preference for the face; and three-fifths, perhaps, of what has been written by them would come rather under the head of physiognomy. Not only, however, are these two branches brought together in the same category, but palmistry, consideration of the shape of the body, deportment, and even the timbre of the voice, are also included.

The skull, colloquially known as the "brain bag," is considered to be most perfect when it is round, with a tendency towards a conical rising at the top, the latter feature indicating great intellectual powers. A "hatchet" face, with a broad flat top to the head, means vacillation and indecision. Of the brain itself, as we might expect, but little is known. It is regarded, among other things, as the source and reservoir of marrow.

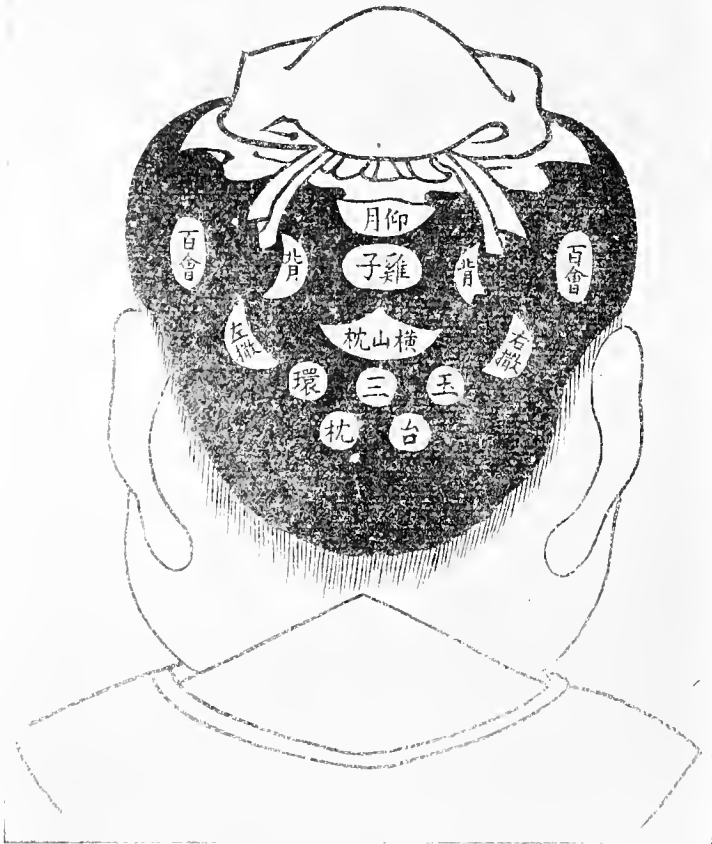
The most important parts of the skull are the forehead and the occiput, the latter of which is called the "pillow-bone." Generally speaking, a high and broad forehead (隆然而起聳然而闊) gives good hope of long life. There are, however, many other details to be taken into calculation.

Bumps and depressions on the occiput play an important part. These terms are represented in the language by two simple pictures, 凸 *tieh* and 凹 *wa*, respectively. Carefully-made diagrams of the head, with bumps and depressions duly marked and appraised, are to be found in all good native works on phrenology. Taking a diagram of the occiput as an example, we find two connected bumps, low down at the back of the head, to denote a martial temperament; a bump nearer the top, shaped like an egg lying on its side, to denote truthfulness and firmness; two similar egg-shaped bumps, but standing on end, one on each side of the head, to denote a fiery temperament and great self-confidence; two crescent-shaped bumps between these last two, to denote longevity; an

irregularly shaped bump, to denote liberal-mindedness; three small bumps below to denote intelligence, and so on.

A thin pointed nose is a sign of homicidal tendencies. Philopro-

圖 枕 玉



genitiveness is placed in the cheekbones, any peakiness of which is fatal to the Chinaman's dearest wish—a family of sons.

The Chinese undoubtedly believe the outer configuration of the skull

to be dependent upon the shape of the brain within, and they connect certain moral qualifications with certain bumps and depressions found on the skull. In conformity with the Confucian dogma that man was born good, and becomes evil only by his environment, so they further believe that bumps and depressions are developed on the surface of the skull by influences from within, which influences, in their turn, have been inspired from without. Palmistry, as has been stated above, is one of the branches included under the general head of 相術 Art of Inspection. Its object is twofold: (1) to ascertain the mental and moral characteristics of persons, and (2) to foretell happiness or misfortune, success or failure, disease, and death. An instance is given of a young lady of the tenth century A. D., who had no brothers and was obliged to perform some of the mourning ceremonies before the image of her dead father. While thus occupied, she was observed by a visitor, named 陳搏 Ch'ên T'uan (the well-known poet, *d.* A. D. 989), who had come to condole. "I did not see her face," he said, "but when she grasped the incense-burner I noticed that 手相甚貴 her hands gave promise of high position." Later on, this visitor married the young lady, and rose to be a Minister of State.

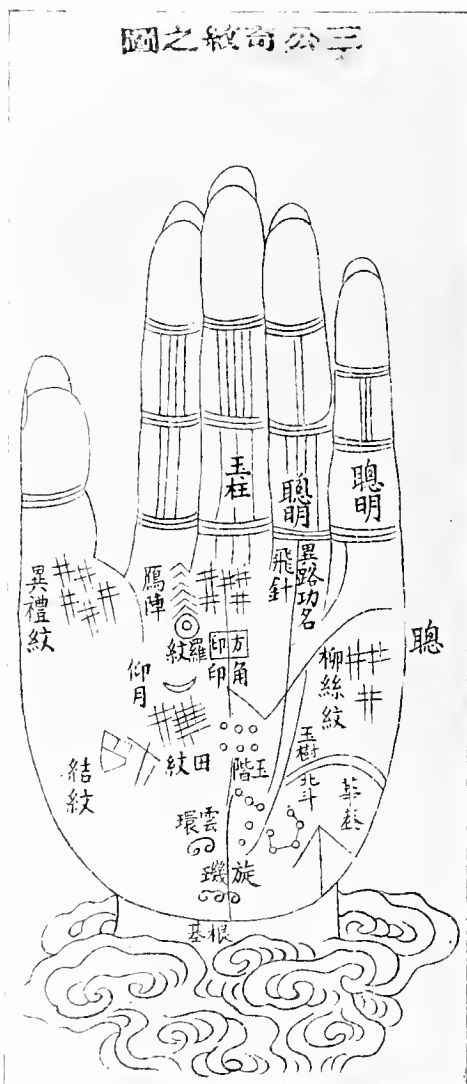
The author of the 神相全編 *Shên hsiang ch'üan pien* says,

The hand is that by which we grasp, and it is used for taking and discarding. If slender and long, the owner's nature will be kindly and generous; if short and thick, it will be mean and grasping. A man whose hand reaches below his knees will be among the bravest and worthiest of his generation; but one whose hand does not reach below his waist will ever be poor and lowly. A small body and a large hand portend happiness and emolument; a large body and a small hand, purity and poverty.

Another passage runs as follows:—

The presence of lines on the hand may be compared with the grain in wood. If the grain is beautiful, the wood becomes known as excellent

material; and if the lines are beautiful, the hand is obviously well constituted. Therefore a hand should certainly have lines on it; those hands which have lines being of a higher order than those which have none. Fine and deep



lines mean success; coarse and shallow lines mean failure. Of the three chief lines on the palm, the uppermost answers to *heaven*; it connotes sovereign and father, and determines station in life. The middle line answers to *man*; it connotes wisdom and folly, and determines poverty and wealth. The lowest line answers to *earth*; it connotes subject and mother, and determines length of days. If these three lines are well defined and unbroken, they are an augury of happiness and official emolument. Vertical lines in excess mean a rebellious nature and calamity; horizontal lines in excess mean a foolish nature and ill-success. A vertical line running up the finger means that all plans will turn out well; random lines, which cross the creases of the fingers, mean that they will fail. Lines which are fine, and resemble tangled silk, indicate wit and beauty; coarse lines, like the grain of the scrub oak, indicate stupidity and a low estate.

Lines like scattered filings indicate a bitter life; lines like sprinkled rice-husks indicate a life full of joy.

The Chinese, however, do not confine their investigations to the palm only; they examine carefully the lines on the back of the

hand, thus making "cheiromancy" a better term for the science than "palmistry." Nor do they omit the nails, each variety of which has its own signification. Thus, tapering nails indicate brains; hard and thick nails, old age; coarse and stumpy nails, dullness of wit; broken and sloughing nails, disease and ill-health; and so on. Then, when the hand is exhausted, the Chinese, who love to push every investigation of this kind to its logical conclusion, proceed to the feet, and extract indications from the lines on the soles. Those combinations which augur best are the "tortoise" and "bird" lines, as shown in the illustration. In conclusion, it should always be remembered that the won-



derful system of identification by 指印 finger-prints, which is forcing the modern burglar to carry on his trade with gloved

hands, was borrowed straight from China, where it has been in vogue for many centuries. Title-deeds, and other legal instruments, are still often found to bear, in addition to signatures, the fingerprints of the parties concerned; sometimes, indeed, the imprint of the whole hand.

In a small volume of the 12th century, entitled **史遺** Omissions from History, we read that a favourite concubine of the Emperor **明皇** Ming Huang (A. D. 713—756), having several times dreamed that she was invited by some man to take wine with him on the sly, spoke about it to the Emperor. "This is the work of a magician," said his Majesty; "next time you go, take care to leave behind you some record." That very night she had the same dream; and accordingly she seized the opportunity of putting her hand on an ink-slab and then pressing it on a screen. When she awaked, she described what had happened; and on a secret examination being made, the imprint of her hand was actually found in the Dawn-in-the-East Pavilion outside the palace. The magician however was nowhere to be seen.

SWALLOWING GOLD

Cunarum labor est angues superare mearum!

It is now nearly thirty years since I began to flatter myself that I had disposed of what then seemed, and still seems to me, an absurd belief that the Chinese ever poison themselves by swallowing gold. There exists in the Chinese language, written and colloquial, a phrase in two words only, 吞金, admitted on all sides to signify "swallow poison." Its literal meaning is to "swallow gold," and the question at issue is whether gold is actually the poison intended, or whether it merely stands for one or other of the drugs used as a means of destroying life.

Williams, in his *Middle Kingdom*, vol. II. p. 513, writes of the Imperial Commissioner Yukien,

He retreated to Yüan, beyond Ningpo, where he committed suicide, as was said, by swallowing gold leaf.

Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, chapter XII, p. 251, has the following less cautious statement:—

Swallowing gold-leaf is a very popular way of committing suicide by mandarins after their condemnation.

Dr. Jardine, of Kiukiang, a medical man engaged in an active practice amongst the Chinese of that port, in his report (*Customs Gazette*, No. 33, Jan.—March, 1877) to the Inspector-General of Maritime Customs, says,

Gold-leaf poisoning appears to be seldom practised here as a method of committing suicide, as I have heard of only one case during my three years' residence.

Again, in Dr. Mackenzie's *Report of the London Mission Hospital at Hankow* for the year ending 30th April, 1878, we find the following passage:—

Shortly after the above occurred, a case of poisoning by gold happened in the same neighbourhood, and an urgent request was sent for help, which ran as follows—Please come and see a woman who has poisoned herself, and bring with you the (tracheotomy) tube to make a second mouth, then we know she will recover.

But Dr. Mackenzie quite omits to mention (1) whether he subsequently attended the woman or not, and (2) if so, what was the result of his investigations.

Yeh Ming-shên, the famous Viceroy whom we captured and held prisoner at Calcutta, said plainly enough that a lump of gold was actually swallowed, which, by its great weight, ultimately perforated the bowel, and caused the desired effect.

To these authorities Professor E. H. Parker, who appears to be a Professor of Lost Causes, has recently added himself, in a lecture to his students at Manchester. I gather from the *London and China Telegraph* of Feb. 4, 1907, that Professor Parker publicly stated that "gold-leaf was sometimes swallowed as a fastidious means of suicide." Let us now turn to Chinese literature, and see what we can pick up that will help us to a correct understanding of the term. To begin with, it does not occur in the 佩文韻府 *P'ei wên yün fu*, the great Concordance of Chinese literary phraseology, which was published in the year 1711. Neither can I find any such entry as "swallowing gold" in either the 幼學 *Yu hsüeh*, the 廣事類賦 *Kuang shih lei fu*, or in any of the other numerous works of reference to which I have access; nor does the term appear to be mentioned throughout the whole range of the dynastic histories, or in any classical or other works whatsoever, with the following important exceptions.

It occurs twice in modern editions of the 洗冤錄 Instructions

to Coroners, a work which dates from the 12th century. In the first passage (§ IV, p. 27 *verso*) we read,

治吞金 Cure for Swallowing Gold.—A man who has accidentally poisoned himself with gold should eat the flesh of partridge; for silver, rhizomes of *Coptis teeta*, Wall., and liquorice-root will answer the purpose. Further, salt which has been used to wash gold, the fat of camels, donkeys and horses, and **餘甘子** (?) *spondias amara*, will all soften gold; while the fat of sheep and **護子** (?) will both soften silver. In cases where gold or silver have been taken into the stomach, the above remedies should be used; they will soften the metal, and it will be easily passed.

The second passage is not found in the body of the book, but in a **補註** supplementary note (§ III, p. 21 *recto*) which cannot be more than 100 years old, as may be seen by a quotation under the year 1803. The complete passage, which includes the bracketed words, runs as follows:—

吞金身死 Death from Swallowing Gold. — [Not in the original work.] A Viceroy of Yünnan, named Liu, having impeached and deprived of rank a general, named T'ien Yün-chung, the latter committed suicide by swallowing gold. When the corpse came to be examined, it had not changed in any way its shape and appearance, and the silver probing-needle failed to show any signs of discoloration. The facts of the case are that on the 5th of the month T'ien Yün-chung swallowed three gold rings, and that subsequently he felt much out of sorts, refusing his meals, and always asking for water to drink. On the 8th day of the month, he vomited without ceasing a quantity of yellow fluid, and in the night he died.

From the above it is easy to draw two conclusions; (1) that the death is scarcely one to commend itself to a suicide who may have either opium, a cord, a razor, or a river, within reach; and (2) that the gold-leaf theory which Professor Parker champions is completely knocked on the head in the only official statement which has so far been published.

I will now turn to the **本草綱目** *Materia Medica*, which dates from A. D. 1578; and there, although failing to discover the phrase we are in search of, or anything indicating that swallowing gold was ever in Chinese history “a fastidious means of

suicide," we shall find some remarks which do bear upon the subject. In this work, the majority of writers quoted seem to agree that **生金有毒** gold in its natural state is poisonous, but that **熟金** (also called **黃金**) **無毒** refined (or yellow) gold is not poisonous.

A story is told of the death of the Empress **賈 Chia** of the **晉 Chiu** dynasty. She is said to have **飲金屑酒而死** died from drinking gold-dust wine. But the best piece of evidence is one which is given twice, and by two different authorities, both of whom are alluding to the extraction of gold from the earth. The first writer, **陳藏器** Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'i, says,

匠竊而吞者不見有毒 the workmen who steal and swallow the gold are not poisoned thereby.

The second writer says,

匠吞竊有腹中者亦不傷人 some of the workmen steal and swallow it into their bellies (as distinguished from taking it into the mouth only), but it does not hurt them.

Of course it is well known to scientific men that, although death may result from swallowing gold, there is nothing poisonous in the pure metal. An attempt has been made to show that gold leaf, if properly administered, may conceivably cause suffocation; but this is only to make the very mistake that Mencius warns us against:—

道在爾而求諸遠 the truth lies at hand, yet men search for it afar off; **事在易而求諸難** the thing is simple, yet men make it difficult.

The obvious explanation is that the phrase, like so many others connected with death and burial, is merely figurative,—a euphemism for suicide by poison; just as **作古人** "to become an ancient," **不祿** "not to draw pay," and **不在** "not to be" (Cf. Hamlet, "To be or not to be," and Genesis V, 24, "he was not, for God took him") are euphemistic expressions for death.

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